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This book by one of our most distinguished historians has been called "the best short history of the United States available". Its object is to give the British reader a complete survey of American history—political, social, economic and cultural—from the first English colonisation in 1606 up to the entry of the United States into the Second World War in 1941.

It is an enthrallingly interesting story that the author has to tell. The whole three centuries, during which America developed from a precarious settlement into the most powerful nation in the World, have been brilliantly depicted. The central section of the story from the Union to the Civil War, from Washington to Lincoln, presents a coherent drama of increasing tension such as few periods in the history of any nation afford.

The author brings to this book his well-known blend of historical judgement and literary skill. It is a work which will be read for pleasure as much as for information. The illustrations have been carefully chosen to represent all aspects of American history. There are useful Appendices including *inter alia* the text of the Declaration of Independence, the American Constitution, Wilson's Fourteen Points, the Atlantic Charter; a chronological list of Presidents; population charts; suggestions for further reading, etc.

A HISTORY OF THE
UNITED STATES
TO 1941



Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

GEORGE WASHINGTON

1732-1799

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

TO 1941

by

D. C. SOMERVELL



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To
MY AMERICAN FRIENDS
OTIS D. RICHARDSON
ANNIE LOU STAVELEY

PREFACE

I WROTE this book in 1941, the year in which the United States was steadily approaching towards full participation in the war with Nazi Germany. I finished it in December, a few weeks after Pearl Harbour. At that time public men were constantly deploring the average Englishman's ignorance of the history of what had already become the greatest Power in the world and, as we hoped, our predestined ally not only in the war but for ever after. I do not know whether it is important on the political level that our people should know something of American history. I do know, or I think I know, that it is an enthrallingly interesting story. The central section of it, from the Union to the Civil War, from Washington to Lincoln, presents a coherent drama of increasing tension such as few periods in the history of any nation afford.

Shortly after the book was published the plates from which further editions might have been printed were destroyed, so it went out of print and has remained so for ten years. I have now been invited by the courtesy of the publisher to prepare it for republication. I have made none but minute alterations. I did the job as well as I could in 1941 and I can do no better now. I have resisted the temptation to bring it up to date. The entry of America into the second world war makes a good terminal point. There has been no such stopping place since. The end of the war did not provide such a stopping-place—as we know to our cost. There is an immense library of books available on the war years, and as for the post-war, it is a fruitful topic for political controversy but as yet unmanageable as history.

An American general who was over here on war service told me that the book was the best short history of his country he had ever read, a generous tribute which, I must confess, made me feel that I had not laboured in vain. I also heard of the book being read with enthusiasm by some young people in a college at Los Angeles. But it was for my own countrymen that I had written it. If for some of them it opens a new field of interest and sends them to explore some part of the vast field of American history and biography, it will have served its purpose.

BENENDEN, KENT.
1954

D. C. S.

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The Thirteen Colonies 1606—1763

THE PRE-COLONIAL EPOCH

THE great wedge of territory in the centre of North America now known as the United States, three million square miles in area, twenty-five times as large as the British Isles, first appears in history as a coast-line on the western side of the Atlantic, a thousand miles long in a straight line, but very much longer if the indentations of the coast are taken into account. The northern end of this coast-line is in the same latitude as the south of France and the southern end of it is in the same latitude as Egypt, but for various climatic reasons the winters at the northern end are much more severe than those of England and the southern end of it, though hot, is not strictly tropical. Along this coast-line the English established a number of settlements, which ultimately became twelve colonies, during the reigns of the first three Stuart kings (1603–85). A thirteenth was added at the southern end of the line fifty years later, in the reign of George II.

The most obvious geographical feature of this strip of coast is the very large number of comparatively small rivers, mostly two or three hundred miles in length, descending in roughly parallel lines to the coast from the Appalachian mountains, which run roughly parallel to the coast, from one hundred to two hundred miles inland; they are nearer to the coast at the northern than at the southern end, and gradually sink into the plains two hundred miles north of the Gulf of Mexico. These rivers rendered overland communication north and south difficult, or almost impossible, in days when there were no roads and bridges. At the same time they encouraged a very large number of short, separate and limited penetrations into the interior. The mountains, which except at their southern end seldom rise much above three thousand feet, do not appear formidable obstacles to-day; but though they are not high they are broad, a series of ranges, ridge behind ridge, densely forested, and until very near the end of the colonial period of American history they imposed a boundary both on the activities and on the outlook and ambitions of the colonists.

What might lie beyond them was unknown and did not seem to matter. A Spanish explorer, Cabeza de Vaca, had crossed northern Mexico from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific, after extraordinary adventures, in 1528-32. Another, Coronado, had made his way north-westwards, possibly as far as what is now the State of Kansas, a few years later, and De Soto had not only discovered the Mississippi but died on its banks and was buried in its waters. But none of the early English colonists knew of or bothered about such adventures.

It was commonly supposed that North America was much narrower, east to west, than it eventually proved to be. True, Drake had on his famous voyage round the world in 1577-81 sailed up the western coast as far as the site of San Francisco. But the navigators of those days, though they could make accurate estimates of latitude by measuring the elevation of the Pole star, had the haziest ideas of longitude owing to their lack of accurate chronometers. In this matter of the width of North America the wish was father to the thought. Men wished it to be narrow because they still hoped to find a sea-way through to 'the Indies'—which had, after all, been the objective of Columbus's voyages.

As late as 1740 two young French explorers, the La Verendrye brothers, believed they had discovered mountains from which, if they could climb them, the Pacific would be visible, and they deposited a leaden plate to mark the limit of their journey. In 1913 it was discovered by two schoolgirls in South Dakota, nearly 1,500 miles from the Pacific. Not till 1806, more than twenty years after the colonies had established their independence, eighteen years after Washington had become the first President of the United States, did Lewis and Clark, financed by the United States government, make the first transcontinental journey, up the Missouri, over the mountains and down the Columbia river, which brought them to the Pacific coast 200 miles south of the present Canadian frontier.

A history of the United States must begin in England, for we have to consider what were the circumstances which led Englishmen to undertake the hazardous enterprise of settling on the coasts of a newly-discovered continent inhabited by savages.

The Portuguese of the fifteenth century, under the leadership of Prince Henry the Navigator, had evolved a new and superior type of sailing ship and had made advances in all branches of the art of navigation. Prince Henry was a first cousin of our English Henry V, both being grandsons of John of Gaunt, and they are

very fair samples of contrasted types, both of which sometimes earn the title of 'great men'. Henry V was a 'great man' because he made a lot of stir in his own day, trying to do what was then considered the proper thing to do, namely to conquer France. Thereby he caused much waste and misery for both England and France and no profit for anyone in the long run. Henry the Navigator withdrew from the noise and bustle of his own generation and devoted himself scientifically to problems of the future. The modern British empire owes nothing to Henry V: it is built on foundations laid by his Portuguese cousin.

The new ships inspired a new adventurousness at sea. As early as 1480, twelve years before Columbus's first voyage, a company of sailors set out from Bristol 'to find new islands on the sea'—but returned without finding any. In 1497 another expedition from the same port, under the Venetian navigator John Cabot, returned with news of the discovery of Newfoundland and of a sea so full of fish that you could bring them up by weighting a basket with a stone and dipping it in the water. Henry VII's government paid Cabot £10 for his 'new island', and he is generally supposed to have set forth on another voyage but nothing beyond conjecture is known about it. Nearly a century was to pass before the English made a serious effort to establish themselves on the shore of America, and Cabot's voyages are sometimes regarded as isolated events without consequences. But they were not so. They led directly to the Newfoundland fishing trade, which was to be our most important commercial activity overseas right down to the time of Charles II. Its importance as a training ground of seamen was recognized by an Act of Edward VI's reign (about 1550), and we read that in 1670 the trade employed 270 ships and over 20,000 seamen. Though it did not involve colonization it must have played an important part in making Englishmen 'America-conscious'.

It is surprising to find that as early as 1511, at the beginning of Henry VIII's reign, there were people at court who recognized the future destiny of their country. 'Let us,' they said, 'in God's name leave off our attempts against the *terra firma* [i.e. the continent of Europe], as the natural situation of these islands seems not to suit with conquests of that kind. Or, when we would enlarge ourselves, let it be that way we can, and to which it seems the eternal providence hath destined us, which is by sea. The Indies are discovered, and vast treasures brought thence every day. Let us therefore bend our endeavours thitherward, and if

the Spaniards and Portuguese suffer us not to join with them, there will yet be region enough for all to enjoy.*

Prophetic works; but nothing came of them for a whole generation, and when, in the middle years of the century, the English again began to hanker after 'the Indies' their energies took them to unprofitable searches for north-east passages round the north of Russia and north-west passages round the north of Canada. Meantime the Portuguese had established what was for a time a monopoly of European trade with the East Indies and Spain had dazzled her rivals with the precious metals of Mexico and Peru.

The conception of the English colonies in America which ultimately became the United States may be traced to a petition of certain west country gentlemen to Queen Elizabeth in 1574, three years after Drake had sacked Nombre di Dios and three years before he started on his voyage round the world, that she would allow an enterprise for the discovery of certain rich and unknown lands 'fatally and it seemeth by Providence reserved for England'. In 1578, after the usual Elizabethan delays, the answer came in the form of a patent granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, empowering him to take possession of heathen lands, not enjoyed by any Christian prince. No geographical limit was otherwise imposed on his undertakings. One-fifth of the gold and silver discovered was reserved for the Crown. In 1583 Gilbert sailed to Newfoundland and took possession of it in the Queen's name but was drowned on his return voyage. His mantle descended upon his kinsman, Sir Walter Raleigh, who in 1585 sent out a body of would-be colonists under the convoy of Sir Richard Grenville, afterwards the hero of the *Revenge*. The settlers were established on Roanoke Island, off the coast of the mainland which has ever since borne the name of Virginia, after the virgin queen; but they found no gold, and when their food failed they were glad to return to England with Drake, who happened to be passing that way. The only result of this expedition was that the first potatoes and tobacco leaves were brought to England. In 1587 another body of colonists, established on the same spot, fared worse, for they perished without leaving a trace behind them. All was lost save Raleigh's faith that 'I shall yet live to see it an English nation'; and in fact, while Raleigh was languishing in prison on a false charge of conspiracy against James I, the permanent establishment of Virginia was achieved.

* From a document quoted, and dated 1511, by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who wrote a *Life of Henry VIII* in the seventeenth century. The document itself is lost

We talk of 'the spacious days of Queen Elizabeth' and her reign is rightly associated with the beginnings of the British empire. Yet it is curious to reflect that she was the only British sovereign between William the Conqueror and George VI who did not enjoy effective possession of an acre of territory outside the British Isles. Calais was lost a few months before her accession: the successful colonization of Virginia began a few years after her death. Very few Englishmen were as yet thinking of colonization in new worlds. It would be safe to say that, in Elizabeth's reign, for every man interested and every pound expended in America, there were a hundred men interested and a thousand pounds expended in the conquest and colonization of Ireland.

THE MOTIVES OF COLONIZATION

Before we cross to America with the early colonists and narrate their history, we must make a general survey of England under the Stuarts in order to discover what causes at home led to the successful establishment and development of the colonies. When we think of the Stuart period, the features that first occur to our minds are religious controversy and persecution, the claims of parliament to control the king's revenue, and the ultimate establishment of parliamentary government. Each of these three features of the Stuart period had a direct and important influence on colonization.

Religious persecution did more to make a success of the English colonies in America than all the imperial statesmanship discoverable in our seventeenth-century rulers. After all, what sort of colonists will be prepared to cope most resolutely with the inevitable hardships of life in a new country, to resist most resolutely the temptations of home sickness? The answer is—the colonist who has no tolerable home to return to. It is curious, and a little humiliating, to reflect on the part played by misgovernment at home in stimulating colonization. Had our statesmen been more liberal-minded we should have exhibited less of our boasted genius for empire building. Archbishop Laud unintentionally did more for English colonization in America than all the good intentions of Raleigh. The case of the Pilgrim Fathers (1620) is well known. 'It is not with us,' they said, 'as with other men, whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish themselves at home again.' In 1632 Lord Baltimore,

a Roman Catholic, obtained a charter from Charles I to found the colony of Maryland. He had, said his son long afterwards, 'absolute liberty to carry over from his Majesty's dominions any that were willing to go. But he found very few except such as could not conform to the laws of England relating to religion.' Virginia, the Church of England colony, found its feet without the aid of religious persecution at home, yet it profited greatly later on from the persecution of the Church during the Puritan revolution. It was in Cromwell's day, for example, that the Anglican clergyman from whom George Washington was descended transferred his family to Virginia. Persecution was an effective but hardly an admirable method of promoting colonization. In 1633 there was produced an allegorical play called *Caelum Britannicum* in which one of the characters proposed to transport the vices to New England 'which hath purged more virulent humours from the body politic than all the West Indian drugs have from the natural bodies of this Kingdom'. A strange metaphor for the establishment of an overseas empire.

Another familiar feature of the Stuart period was the controversy between king and parliament about the king's revenue. Customs duties were then an even more important source of revenue than they are to-day for there was no income-tax until the nineteenth century. The produce of the colonies was taxed on its arrival in the mother country, and the revenue derived from such taxes was to a large extent independent of parliamentary control. Charles I and Charles II took an interest in the promotion of colonies because the prosperity of the colonies strengthened their hands against the aggression of parliaments. We think of Charles II as eluding the vigilance of parliament by living on subsidies from Louis XIV; it would be equally true to think of him as achieving this object by living on revenue derived from the growing colonial trade.

Finally, if the king was interested in the revenue from taxes on colonial trade, the members of both Houses of Parliament were interested in the colonial trade itself. Most of the members were country gentlemen, but they took their policy to a surprisingly large extent from the compact body of London merchants. The triumph of parliament meant the triumph of commercial policy, which would be among other things an empire-building policy. The Rump of the Long Parliament, after it (or its masters) had executed Charles I, went to war with the Dutch 'for the fairest of all mistresses, trade'. Two more Dutch wars followed under

Charles II, and New York, the finest harbour on the American coast, was transferred from the Dutch to the British flag.

The ordinary method of English colonization in the seventeenth century was the granting of a royal charter to a group of private citizens and the establishment thereby of a chartered company. It is important to understand exactly what this means.

In the middle ages the development of towns, with their close-packed populations engaged in trade and industry and organized in trade guilds, created problems of local government which did not find solution within the framework of the feudal system. The problem was solved by granting to each town of sufficient importance a charter, legalizing and limiting its self-government. In the same way charters were granted to bodies of people undertaking industrial, commercial, or educational enterprises, such as guilds or schools. All the old English public schools owe their foundation to charters of this kind.

The charters granted to the great trading companies were only a development of the same system; they were a delegation of powers of government from the crown to a group of its subjects. The East India merchants, for example, proposed to invest their capital in a new, lucrative, but extremely hazardous trade. Such trade would be undertaken in open competition with foreigners. It was certain that their ships would encounter resistance from other European merchants on the high seas, and that their trading stations would have to be defended from the attacks of native peoples. No single individual shipper could undertake such a trade. The merchants must form a company and their ships must sail in fleets. It was essential that they should obtain in advance a royal patronage such as would secure that their acts of war would not be disowned as piracy. Hence the famous East India Company, which was only the best known of the many chartered trading companies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—the Muscovy Company, the Hudson's Bay Company and others.

The same conditions ruled in charters granted to companies for the purpose of colonization. When the colonization of Virginia was undertaken afresh, and this time successfully, in the first years of James I's reign, three charters were granted to the Virginia Company—in 1606, 1609 and 1612. The difficulty and novelty of the problems involved and the close attention given to them by the home government, are indicated by the fact that the first charter was thus twice at short intervals revised; even so the charters failed to provide for most of the problems that

actually arose. Still, the geographical limits within which the company might establish a colony were laid down, and its commercial privileges and obligations defined.

The chartered company was a device without which the British Empire (and consequently the United States as we now know it) would either never have existed at all, or would have lacked the features which enabled it to surpass its rivals. Such companies enabled weak, cautious, pacific, and often impoverished English governments to make use of and enjoy the profits, under due control, of the wealth and enterprise of their subjects. Only under English rule did such companies flourish. The despotic monarchies of France and Spain throttled their colonial ventures under a system of rigid state control. While the English colonies in America developed an embarrassingly sturdy independence, French Canada was simply a department of France, governed exactly as if it were Normandy or Anjou. The result is written in eighteenth-century history. British arms conquered French Canada almost at a blow as soon as a British government, under Pitt, really gave its mind to the matter; twenty years later they failed completely to subdue a rebellion of their own colonists.

What were the motives inspiring the adventurers who undertook, and the statesmen who encouraged and guided, the establishment of the English colonies in America and the West Indies?—for though the West Indian colonies are outside the subject of this book they were started in the same period and with much the same motives. A large and various assortment of motives can be discovered in the official documents and general literature of the period. Some, which were most prominent at the beginning, faded out as the realities of the situation came to be better understood. First and foremost in the beginning was the search for gold. Raleigh himself was inspired by the glamour of Mexican gold and his last tragic venture was the quest of a gold mine on the Orinoco. John Smith, the first man of mark among the actual colonists in Virginia, knew better. 'Who' he wrote 'can desire more content, that hath small means, or but only his merits to advance his fortunes, than to tread and plant the ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life?'

More solid was the hope that the colonies would prove to be sources of supply of necessary articles which could not be produced in England, and that they would prove markets for the sale of the coarse cloths which were the main article of English

manufacture. The goods most desired from the colonies were of two kinds—naval stores such as timber, cordage and tar, for which we depended upon our foreign trade with the Baltic countries, a trade easily closed against us in time of war; and tropical products such as sugar, spices and currants. For the second purpose the West Indian colonies naturally proved much more satisfactory than those of the mainland further north, and indeed they were more highly valued by general opinion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Cromwell wanted the Puritans of New England, the most northern group of the colonies, to emigrate to his newly conquered island of Jamaica. The colonies of the mainland proved disappointing as producers of both kinds of goods. Virginia quickly became a mere tobacco plantation, and serious statesmen viewed the growing popularity of tobacco smoking in England with disapproval. It was diverting colonial production from necessities of naval defence to instruments of idle and indeed 'beastly' self-indulgence. It was in vain they tried to pledge its settlers to grow corn and wine and silk; in vain that they exported forty iron-workers from Sussex, and sought to attract vine-growers from France and olive-growers from Italy. Charles I declared that he distrusted a colony 'built upon smoke', and his minister Cottington said, 'We plant tobacco and puritanism only, like fools.' However, even tobacco produced a revenue for the government by way of import duties, and the Exchequer became reconciled to it even if the Admiralty did not.

Another motive remains to be mentioned, a motive which sounds curiously modern. It was thought that the colonies would provide homes for the surplus population of the mother country. It seems strange that the England of those days, with its population of five millions, should imagine itself overcrowded, but the Tudor period had been, for various reasons, a time of much distress and unemployment, and unemployment is very easily assumed to be the result of over-population. Richard Hakluyt, the historian of the Elizabethan voyages, composing at Raleigh's request an argument in favour of colonization, makes over-population his first point. 'The fry of wandering beggars of England, that grow up idly and hurtful and burdensome to this realm, may there be unladen and may people waste countries, to their own more happy state.' But the Stuart period proved more prosperous at home and the colonies did not get as large an immigration of white labour as they required.

VIRGINIA AND NEW ENGLAND

The first settlers under the Virginia company left England at the end of 1606 in three ships of 100, 40 and 20 tons, under Captain Newport. About half had paid for their passage; the other half were to pay for it by labour in the colony. The voyage lasted only four months, and out of 120 only sixteen died on the way—quite a prosperous voyage in both respects by the standards of the day. In the next sixteen years the Virginia company sent out 5,649 settlers of whom only 1,095 were alive in 1624,—a survival of the fittest under rigorous conditions. The first batch of settlers were all men. Women did not arrive till more than two years later—about ninety young women from working-class homes. They supplied a felt want and several of them were married within a few hours of landing. Captain Newport took home with him a cargo of iron pyrites under the delusion that it was gold.

The first settlers established themselves on a malarious swamp at the mouth of the James river. The site of their settlement, Jamestown, was so ill-chosen that it is now uninhabited.* In spite of the efforts of John Smith, an energetic but unpopular adventurer who soon returned home, the first settlers proved themselves singularly unsuited to the life they had undertaken, and were soon suffering from every conceivable hardship, including famine. One of them was convicted of eating his wife and executed—but not eaten, says an American humorist. In 1610 a relief expedition found only sixty starving survivors and decided to grant their request and take them back to England. Just out to sea they encountered Lord Delaware, the new governor, with three ships containing a large store of supplies. He persuaded them to return to their settlement.

This proved the turn of the tide, for in 1612 John Rolfe made a success of his first tobacco crop. He also (though this is less important) married the celebrated Indian 'princess', Pocahontas. Many Americans claim descent from this marriage, among them Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, and Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, wife of the President who led America into the first great war in 1917.

Sir Edwin Sandys, chairman of the Virginia company in

* It was finally abandoned after a fire which destroyed many of its buildings in 1699. Since that date it has been uninhabited. The capital was moved to Williamsburg.

London, was a keen parliamentarian, the type of man who opposed in English parliaments the claims of the Stuart kings. It was by his directions that the governor of the colony summoned a representative assembly of the colonists in 1619. It was the earliest American ancestor of the present Congress of the United States, but it was not of course a democratic body any more than a Stuart parliament at home was democratic. It consisted of the successful tobacco planters, and the smallest area of a successful plantation was a thousand acres, most of them being very much larger. Virginia developed from the first as an aristocracy of planters, the bulk of the population being workers in the service of the few. But it is a common, though old-fashioned, mistake to suppose that the Virginian aristocracy was an offshoot of the English aristocracy. All but a very few of the 'first families' of Virginia came from very humble English homes, and made good in America.

The Virginian plantations developed along the numerous navigable rivers. Each planter shipped his own cargo from his own wharf. There were no towns till much later, and very little 'hard money'. Tobacco supplied the place of money as a currency. The planters paid for their imports from England in tobacco, and were generally in debt, a fact which disposed many of them long afterwards to support the movement for American independence.

In 1624 the Virginia company was abolished and a new charter issued. Virginia became a royal colony, its governors nominated by the Crown. The change made very little difference to the colonists.

In 1632 Charles I granted a charter to a Roman Catholic, George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, to establish a colony in which the Roman Catholic religion should be tolerated. A small territory was carved out of the northern part of Virginia for this purpose. Such was the origin of Maryland, whose capital, Baltimore, still commemorates the name of the founder. It has the honour of being the first Christian community after the Reformation to accept quite explicitly the principle of toleration. A considerable number of Virginian puritans who did not like the Church of England as established and endowed in Virginia passed over into Maryland, and there was a good deal of friction between puritans and Roman Catholics. It is sad to record that in 1692, after the expulsion of the Roman Catholic King James II in England, toleration of Roman Catholics in Maryland was

abolished. Though founded by a Roman Catholic for Catholics, the Catholics never became more than a minority in the population. Considering how large the Catholic population in England continued to be throughout the seventeenth century and how severely they were often treated, it is curious that so few emigrated to America.

Maryland was and continued throughout colonial times to be, by the terms of its charter, a proprietary colony, owned and ruled by successive members of the Calvert family, though they usually resided in England. They stood to it in the same relation as the King stood to Virginia, but they were, like the King in Virginia, compelled to allow a large measure of self-government to the Maryland assembly. In 1692, the then Lord Baltimore was deprived, as a Roman Catholic, of his proprietary rights, but they were restored to his heir when, in 1715, he joined the Church of England. Maryland, like Virginia, was predominantly a tobacco colony.

The state of culture in Virginia in the middle of the seventeenth century is summarized by the governor, Sir William Berkeley, when he wrote to the Privy Council in England, 'I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years, for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government. God keep us from both.' This was in 1643 when parliament was making war upon Charles I and Milton published, under the title of *Areopagitica*, his eloquent plea for liberty of the press.

Governor Berkeley had a long, though chequered, reign. He was deposed from his governorship during the Commonwealth but restored at the Restoration. Near the end of his time he encountered what was to be a characteristic feature of all American history, the reaction of 'the west' or 'the frontier' against the comparatively wealthy and established society of the east coast. Whether 'the west' was the Mississippi valley or only fifty miles up the Virginian rivers, its character was the same. Berkeley ruled in the interests, it was said, of the rich planters of the tidal creeks and neglected to defend the up-country farmers against the Indians; so they rebelled under one Nathaniel Bacon. The result (1676) was a Virginian civil war. Bacon achieved some successes but died of fever, and the rebellion fizzled out. He may be regarded as an early and unsuccessful champion of democracy in America.

English puritans in the early seventeenth century were of two kinds. The great majority, including many wealthy men, such as Cromwell and Hampden and a majority of the London merchants, were members of the Church of England, though they desired alterations in its organization and ritual. A small minority, almost entirely confined to the poorer classes, were Separatists or Congregationalists. They abjured the worship of the national church, and worshipped God illegally in gatherings of their own. There was a small congregation of such persons, led by John Robinson, at the village of Scrooby on the borders of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire who, finding their life at home intolerable, emigrated to Leyden in Holland in 1608. Here they were still unhappy, though for different reasons, and they established contact with some London merchants who undertook to pay the expenses of their journey to Virginia, provided that they made repayment at the end of a term of years out of the product of their labour. Their position was to be, in fact, the same as that of a large number, perhaps a majority, of those who had been taken to Virginia on the first and on subsequent voyages. They returned to England in 1620 and crossed the Atlantic in the since famous *Mayflower*. There were 102 passengers in the *Mayflower*, but only a third of them were 'pilgrims' from Leyden. The others were a miscellaneous collection such as normally sailed to Virginia, and not necessarily puritans at all. The voyage was unusually prosperous; only one died and a baby was born.

Sighting land at Cape Cod, several hundred miles short of Virginia, the captain refused to take them any further. So they were landed on a desolate and unclaimed shore, where they formed a settlement which they called Plymouth. Such was the origin of the Pilgrim Fathers, though they were not given this romantic name till more than a hundred years later. As their governor they elected William Bradford, a very remarkable man, a self-taught scholar who had mastered Latin, Greek and Hebrew. His history of the adventures of his little colony is a classic of considerable literary charm, and has made the early history of this minute settlement better known than that of any of the larger ventures.

The first winter was a terrible time and only fifty of the original 102 survived it, among them only four women. But a friendly Indian, named Squanto, taught them how to fertilize with fish the fields in which they sowed their corn. They also trapped beavers, and beaver skins became for a time what tobacco was for

Virginia, the 'money' of the colony. The colonists at first attempted practical communism, but it was abandoned after three years and each family allotted its own land.

Nine years after the sailing of the *Mayflower* Charles I, having got rid of parliament and imprisoned its leaders, embarked, under the guidance of Archbishop Laud, on his resolute effort to establish religious uniformity in England. This provoked the great puritan migration, 20,000 in all, during the ten years 1630-40. They did not all of them come to the neighbourhood of Plymouth. Many went to Virginia, many to the West Indies and from there to what afterwards became South Carolina. But sufficient came to establish around Cape Cod what eventually became the four colonies of Massachusetts (which absorbed Plymouth), Rhode Island, Connecticut and New Hampshire, collectively known as the New England colonies, because the land on which they settled had been previously granted to a chartered company called the Council for New England. This company, however, had no discernible history and supplied nothing but its name.

Of these colonies Massachusetts was (apart from Plymouth) the first, and always the most important. Its capital, Boston, quickly became and long remained the most important English town on the American continent. Its founders were John Winthrop and others who formed a chartered company called the Massachusetts Bay Company. They had plenty of money at their disposal, for their backers were not poor Separatists like the 'Pilgrims' of Plymouth but puritans of the wealthier and conforming class. Their first expedition, in 1630, sailed with eleven ships and 900 colonists. One of the big differences between Massachusetts and Virginia was that, in Massachusetts, the directors of the company were themselves colonists. They took their charter and directorate with them to America and thus became a practically independent American community. The project proved exceedingly successful. In 1643 there were 16,000 colonists, more than the population of all the other English settlements in America put together.

John Winthrop was an educated gentleman, who had been to Cambridge. He was a deeply religious man, and he believed neither in democracy nor in toleration. Puritans in England might demand toleration, but it was because they believed they had the right religion, not because they believed in the principle of toleration. Those who had come to New England came to establish a puritan community. They would have thought it

mere treason to their faith to tolerate in their midst religions they considered wrong. In Virginia full citizenship and membership of the Assembly depended roughly on the size of the colonist's tobacco plantation. In Massachusetts it depended on membership of the church, and membership was surprisingly restricted; it did not include by any means all those who attended the church services. It is said that Winthrop and his successors restricted membership of the church in order to confine political influence to substantial and reliable people. But the New England colonies early developed an organ of local government called the township, and in the township (or village) government became democratic simply because society itself was democratic. Climate and soil forbade the development of a planter aristocracy living by the large-scale export of a single staple commodity.

New England views on education were very different from those of Governor Berkeley of Virginia. Their religion was based on Bible reading and it was 'a device of that old deluder Satan to keep men from a knowledge of the scriptures' by 'persuading them from the use of tongues'. In 1636 the Assembly voted money from public funds to start a college. Two years later John Harvard left half his estate and all his books for this purpose. The result was Harvard College, afterwards Harvard University, the oldest university in the United States. The foundation of Harvard was a fine achievement, but it may not have been altogether good for New England. It encouraged colonial parents of the wealthier sort to give a narrow provincial education at home to many who might otherwise have been sent to English universities to receive something much better. After the Puritan Revolution broke out in England, the puritan emigration to New England suddenly stopped and was never resumed. For the next hundred years and more the population was formed from the descendants of the pre-1640 settlers. Like the French Canadians and the South African Dutch they continued to live in an atmosphere of seventeenth-century ideas long after the seventeenth century was over. Virginia and the other southern colonies lacked colleges, but many wealthy southern planters sent their sons to English public schools and universities. There was perhaps less learning but more 'culture' (a vague term, no doubt) in eighteenth-century Virginia than in eighteenth-century Boston.

In such a community—religious, intolerant, and bursting with energy—there were bound to be dissensions. Roger Williams advocated complete toleration and the separation of church and

state, religion and politics. Ann Hutchinson urged the rights of women as preachers in church and held that God revealed himself not only through the Bible but also directly through the 'inner light' of the individual soul, a doctrine afterwards taught by the Quakers. Both these advanced thinkers were driven with their followers out of Massachusetts and migrated about fifty miles to the other side of the Cape Cod peninsula (1635-38). Here they founded settlements independently, Williams at Providence on the mainland and Mrs. Hutchinson on an island. The two were subsequently amalgamated as Rhode Island, where toleration and democracy prevailed, in spite of the disapproval of the Bostonians. Connecticut, a little further west, owed its origin to more worldly motives, a desire for farmland on the richer soil of the Connecticut river valley. New Hampshire and Maine were similar offshoots to the north. New Hampshire became and remained a separate colony with its own charter, like Rhode Island and Connecticut. Maine was reabsorbed by Massachusetts, but long afterwards (1820) reappeared as a separate state of the American Union.

There is much that is repulsive in the vigorous puritanism of seventeenth-century Massachusetts. Harmless offences such as unlicensed kissing, or even the kissing of husbands and wives on the Sabbath, were occasionally punished with appalling severity. Any state which attempts to control private morals encourages spying and malicious tale-bearing, and there was plenty of that.* English Quakers, who arrived about 1660, were regarded with extraordinary hostility, and four who refused to be expelled were hanged. The most notorious of the puritan atrocities of Massachusetts was the Salem witch hunt of 1692 when nineteen persons were hanged for witchcraft on the evidence of two hysterical girls. Isolated from the rational influences of the general culture of Europe, the puritanism of New England was apt to run amok at times. With all their faults, however, the New Englanders made a striking success of colonization in a bleak climate and on a somewhat infertile soil, with very little support or guidance from their mother country.

* Many curiosities are to be found in these old laws. For example, in the Massachusetts Code of 1650 unmarried persons convicted of immoral conduct could be sentenced either to be whipped or to be married or to be whipped *and* married.

THE LATER COLONIES

A map of the east coast of North America for 1660 would show, from north to south, the following European settlements:—the French in the St. Lawrence valley and Nova Scotia; several hundred miles away from either of these the New England colonies on either side of Cape Cod; a hundred miles from the westernmost New England settlement the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam; a hundred miles south-west of New Amsterdam the English colonies of Maryland and Virginia; finally, five hundred miles further south-west, the Spanish settlement of St. Augustine in Florida. We have now to see how the gaps between New England and Maryland, and between Virginia and Florida, came to be filled, till the English colonies stretched in a continuous series from the French lands in the north to the Spanish in the south.

Early in the seventeenth century the Dutch East India Company commissioned an English sailor, Henry Hudson, to find them a sea passage through North America to 'the Indies'. Hudson explored the river that bears his name, and though it proved no thoroughfare it directed the Dutch to the excellent harbour at its mouth, where they founded a colony. But New Amsterdam, as it was called, never flourished and it surrendered almost without a blow to the expedition sent against it by Charles II's government at the opening of the second of the three Anglo-Dutch wars (1664). So New Amsterdam became New York. The most important result of its acquisition was that it placed the English for the first time in direct contact and collision with the French in Canada. The Hudson valley runs up due north, and, with the Lake Champlain valley beyond it, provides a direct natural passage, three hundred miles long, from New York to Montreal. A tributary of the Hudson, the Mohawk, provides an equally direct route to the French stations on Lake Ontario. The Dutch had already developed fur trapping in these valleys, and the English took over and extended the industry. Many of the Dutch colonists remained in New York under English rule, among them the Roosevelts, ancestors of two famous twentieth-century presidents of U.S.A. The conquest of New York entailed the acquisition of two small colonies immediately to the south of it, New Jersey and Delaware, which had also been Dutch territory. Delaware had been for a short time

a Swedish colony, but the Dutch conquered the Swedes, as we conquered them.

There was room for one more colony north of Maryland and the space for it was acquired by William Penn the Quaker, son of the admiral who had conducted the expedition which acquired Jamaica. Penn was an enterprising and enlightened man who wanted to conduct a 'holy experiment' in colonization on his own lines. Charles II owed a debt of money to the admiral, now deceased, and Penn was very ready to take a colonial charter in payment of the debt (1681). The colony was to be like Maryland, a proprietary colony owned by Penn and his descendants. Penn himself came over with the first batch of colonists in 1682 and carefully laid out, on the Delaware river, the plan of what was to be his capital. Philadelphia (which means brotherly love) was one of the first cities to be scientifically planned with a rectangular system of streets. In course of time it surpassed Boston in population and was, at the time when the colonies achieved independence, the largest town in America, north of Mexico, though even so it only contained thirty or forty thousand inhabitants. It was soon afterwards passed by New York.

Penn had no desire to create a privileged preserve for Quakers. He stood not only for toleration but for racial equality and laid special emphasis on just treatment of the native Indians, influenced perhaps by the savage war with Indians that had recently disturbed New England. Nor was he content to limit his appeal for colonists to the British Isles. He has been described as the first American advertiser, for he wrote an *Account of the Province of Pennsylvania* and had it translated into French, Dutch and German. From quite early days there was a large inflow of German colonists, known as the Pennsylvania Dutch (i.e. Deutsch). A prolonged dispute as to the frontier between Pennsylvania and Maryland was ultimately settled in 1750 by two surveyors appointed by the British government, Mason and Dixon. This Mason-Dixon line long afterwards became famous as the boundary between the states that had abolished slavery and those which retained it.

The impulse to establish a colony south of Virginia came from Sir John Colleton, a Barbados sugar planter, who came to England during the reign of Charles II, and secured the establishment of a proprietary colony in which the proprietors were a group of nobles and politicians such as Clarendon, and Ashley of the 'Cabal'. The proprietary system in this case proved a failure

and was abolished early in the eighteenth century. The colony was also at about the same time divided into two, North and South Carolina. South Carolina was semi-tropical in climate and developed a plantation system for the production of rice and indigo. Unlike Virginia it early established an important urban centre at Charleston, for the rice-growers preferred to leave their mosquito-infested rice fields in the hands of their overseers during the hot season. The wealthier settlers mostly came from the English West Indian islands and during the colonial period this colony made very little contact with the others further north. After the establishment of the United States and the introduction of cotton-growing, South Carolina became politically the leading state of 'the South' and was the prime mover in the secession which led to the civil war.

North Carolina, on the other hand, was mainly colonized by overflow from Virginia. It became a home for runaway debtors who prided themselves that there was no church within the limits of their settlement. Its hills and valleys were suited to the raising of herds of cattle and pigs, which made their own living in the forests. It was the first example of a cowboy and cattle country in America.

Thus by the end of the seventeenth century all the colonies but one had been founded. Their population in 1715 is reckoned to have been, exclusive of Indians, about 450,000 of whom 60,000 were imported negroes—a subject with which we shall soon be dealing.

There remained only Georgia, which was founded by charter granted to General Oglethorpe in 1733. As a young man he had fought under Marlborough and he lived to be, far on in the century, a friend of Dr. Johnson. For many years he was a director of the Royal African Company, the great slave-trading corporation, but so far as white men were concerned he was a philanthropist, and his object in founding Georgia was to establish a colony to which debtors could be sent to work off their debts instead of languishing in English prisons.* He had the haziest ideas about the possibilities of the country and expected it to produce silk and wine. Slavery and rum were to be forbidden. All his projects went wrong. There was soon both slavery and rum and there was never any silk or wine. Georgia

* Debtors were sent to prison instead of subjected to our present mild bankruptcy proceedings until well on in the nineteenth century. Dickens's *Little Dorrit* is the fiction classic on the subject, but Mr. Pickwick also went to prison for debt.

produced rice, and became a sort of younger brother to South Carolina, but it was of little importance till the development of the cotton industry at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The motive of the government in chartering the colony was rivalry with Spain. The so-called War of Jenkins' Ear (1739-48) was soon to break out, and the government wanted to establish claims on the vacant land between South Carolina and Spanish Florida.

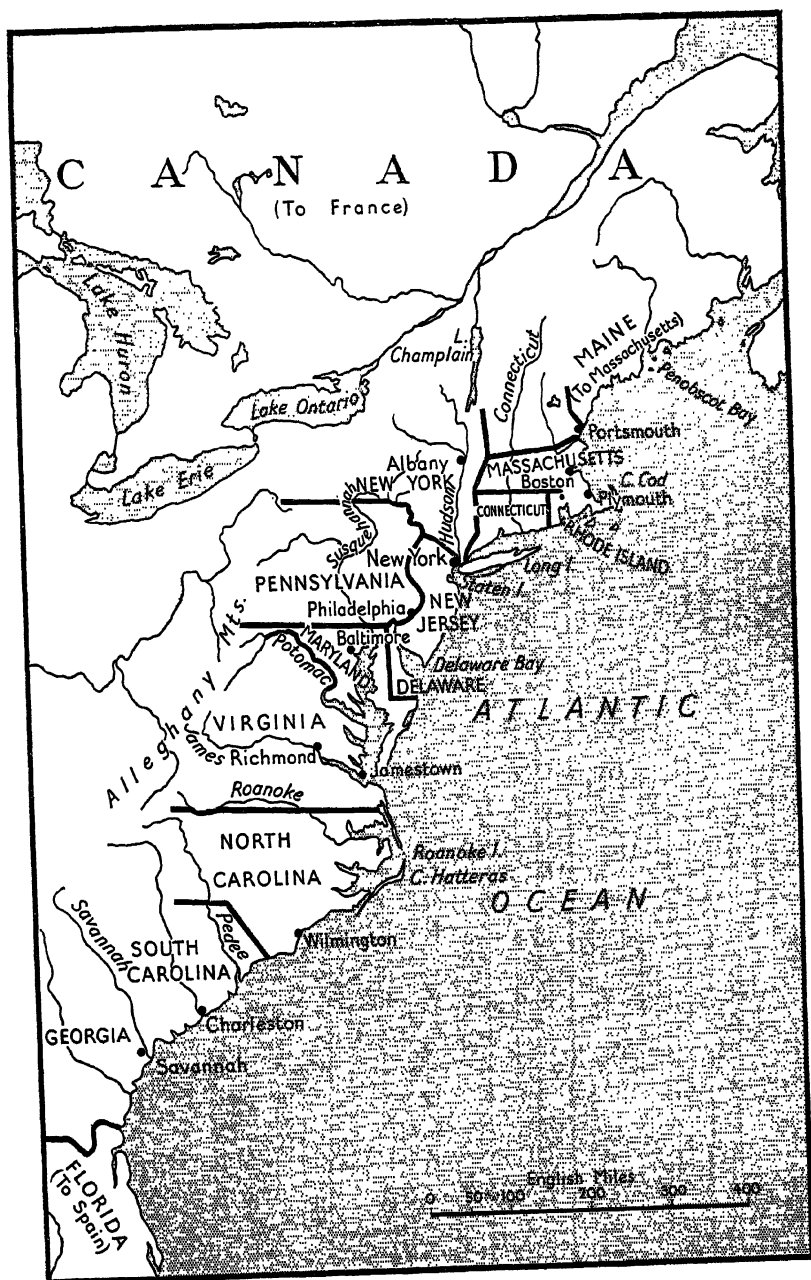
Such were the origins of the thirteen colonies which became afterwards the parent states of the American Union. They fall into three clearly marked divisions, north, middle and south.

The northern group was composed of the four little New England colonies, small in area but great in significance. Their soil was, except in the Connecticut valley, extremely barren and their winters positively arctic, though their summers are slightly warmer than an average English summer. They became a ship-building, seafaring people, fishing, trading with the West Indies and with Europe, carriers not only of their own commodities but of other people's, like the Dutch and British in Europe.

The middle group comprised New York, New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania. Here the winters were still colder than those of England, but the summers as hot as those of Italy. In the middle colonies, with richer soil, larger rivers and much less cramped *hinterland*, to use the convenient German word for space behind the coast-line, farming of an English type, cattle and food crops, flourished; also fur-trapping and the lumber (timber) industry.

The southern group—Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia—were larger in area than the other two groups together, and about equal to them both in population by the middle of the eighteenth century. Here were colonies which corresponded with the European idea of what a colony ought to be, producing goods which the mother country could not produce. It was a land of big plantations, producing both food for colonial subsistence and also the great export crops, tobacco and rice.

Between the three groups there was very little communication of any kind. All three faced towards England but took little notice of or interest in each other.



BRITISH COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA

COLONIAL SOCIETY

We speak of the colonies as English and so they were,* but before the end of the seventeenth century several non-English streams of population had begun to flow into them. We have already mentioned the Germans of Pennsylvania. Most of these came from the Palatinate, which was devastated by the armies of Louis XIV in 1688. After the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) shipping agents constantly toured Germany and, as they were paid commissions on each German emigrant they secured, they naturally painted a rose-coloured picture of prospects in the new world. Later on in the century the tyranny of an archbishop of Salzburg, one of the last of the really strenuous Roman Catholic persecutors of Protestants, assisted the efforts of the shipping agents. The German emigrants were humble and peaceable folk and proved good colonists.

Another strain, more distinguished in quality, were the French Huguenots who made their way to the colonies after the revocation of the French toleration edict (Edict of Nantes) in 1685. They found homes in almost all the colonies south of New England, but more particularly in South Carolina. Another French source were the Acadians of Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia was annexed to Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht, but the French were left unmolested till 1755 when, at the opening of the last and most strenuous of the American Anglo-French wars, they were ruthlessly ejected from their homes. Most of them found their way past the English colonies to Louisiana on the far side of the mouth of the Mississippi. Here the growth of the United States overtook and absorbed them at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

With the breakdown of the Scottish Highland clan system after the defeat of the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 thousands of Scottish Highlanders arrived, particularly in North Carolina. Some were transported by the British government as convicted rebels. Others came as refugees. It is a curious fact that they were nearly all loyalists, i.e. supporters of the British government, during the War of American Independence only thirty years later.

There was also, especially in New York and Pennsylvania, a considerable importation of Irish Catholics as indentured

* It becomes appropriate to call them British after the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707.

servants, i.e. persons bound to virtual slavery for a fixed period of years. But the big Irish immigration, the biggest of all the non-English immigrations in colonial days, came from the Scotch-Irish Protestant population of Ulster. This Scottish colony in Ireland had developed important industries, textile and agricultural, whose products competed in the English market. From the Restoration onwards, and more particularly after the accession of William III, the English parliament set itself to exclude and ruin these industries in the interests of the English producer. Hence, widespread unemployment in Ulster. Finally, early in the eighteenth century, came the centenary of the establishment of the Ulster colony. Most land leases had been granted for a hundred years, and when they expired the landlords refused to renew them except at increased rents. Hence the exodus from Ulster to America. They settled in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the long Shenandoah valley running between the first and second ridges of the Appalachians in Virginia, and in the Carolinas. These people hated England and continued to hate her. They provided the most reliable element in the armies of George Washington, and there is therefore some truth in the remark that it was Irish grievances rather than American grievances that actually secured American independence. Many famous Americans trace descent from this Ulster strain, among them Andrew Jackson, one of the outstanding presidents (1829-37) of the nineteenth century.

But from the point of view of the colonist already established, the economic status of new arrivals was more important than their nationality. Such a colonist was confronted by a situation common in all new countries. Land was cheap—indeed it could be had for nothing; but labour was dear—for the labourer who did not like his wages would go west (it might be only a few miles west in early days) and find land for himself. The problem was, of course, acutest in the 'plantation' colonies from Virginia southward, but in a greater or less degree it was felt everywhere.

The remedy envisaged by the men who directed colonial policy in the seventeenth century was *indentured* white labour. The settler in need of a servant paid a sum equivalent to the cost of a passage to America; in return he got a servant who was legally bound to work for him for, say, ten years, receiving board, lodging and clothing during his period of service and, at the expiring of his service, two suits of clothes and enough corn to last him for a year.

Such indentured servants might be convicts*; they might be certified paupers, dependent on Poor Law assistance; they might be boys and girls kidnapped by those who made their living out of the traffic; or they might be voluntary emigrants who accepted the bargain as a good one—which it very often turned out to be. It is probable that the majority of English emigrants to the colonies in the colonial period started their American careers under a service contract of some kind. But it was not altogether satisfactory for the employer. The servants would often break their contracts, and it was not easy to retain them. In any case their periods of service were constantly expiring, when they would demand to be dismissed, with a bonus, and successors had to be found.

What were the alternatives? The natives, the 'Indians' as they were called in perpetual commemoration of Columbus's mistake as to the geography of the land he had discovered, were useless; for they preferred death to enslavement. To the colonist the Indian was like the forests and the swamps, simply a natural obstacle to be got rid of. The tragedy of the original inhabitants of North America is a long and dismal chapter of American history, and from the standpoint of the colonists it was not even an important chapter. On the whole they were easily disposed of—and ruthlessly. There is no need to encumber the pages of this book with catalogues of horrors from the Indian wars. The story was always the same—white pressure on Indian hunting-grounds, Indian reprisals, and (last act) the white man's far more destructive counterstroke. One of the earliest examples was the Pequot war in New England, which ended when the New Englanders had surrounded the main Indian village and, preventing all escape, burnt it to the ground with every man, woman and child of its inhabitants, 500 in all. After which the holy men returned to their church to give thanks to God for His mercies, for they were well read in the books of Joshua and Judges; this was the sort of thing that He expected of them and they of Him. Anyhow the Indians, though sometimes useful to the fur trappers, were generally better dead. They provided no solution of the labour problem.

There remained the importation of negroes from Africa. The

* Transportation was the ordinary alternative to hanging for serious crimes, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it meant transportation to America or the West Indies. When the American colonies became independent an alternative place for transported convicts was found in Australia.

African slave trade had begun with the importation of Africans by Spaniards to their West Indian islands and Mexico, almost a hundred years before the founding of Virginia. It must have seemed to the early colonizers that providence had not arranged the world conveniently for them. In Africa was land well nigh valueless but a large population of most 'serviceable' natives; in America valuable land but natives scanty and useless. It was for European man to rectify the mistake of providence and transfer the valuable natives to the valuable land. What this meant during the next three centuries for Africa is an appalling story which happily we have not got to tell. No reliable estimate of the total number of Africans forcibly imported by Europeans into other continents is possible. Guesses range from twenty to forty millions, and whatever estimate is taken one can double it to get the number taken out of Africa, for about half died on the passage, and double it again to get the loss of population to Africa since for every slave taken it is probable that one African was killed in the course of the slave-raiding expeditions, undertaken for the most part by Africans themselves to supply the demand of the European slave traders. The total imported to the British American colonies and West Indies was but a small fraction of the whole, but it was well over 2,000,000.

The first cargo of African slaves in the British mainland colonies was brought to Virginia by a Dutch vessel in 1619, only twenty in number, and imports were on a very small scale till 1663 when the Royal West African Company was founded by charter. In 1698 the monopoly of this company was abolished and the trade increased. The ships of puritan New England took an increasing part in the trade and Rhode Island, dedicated by its founder to liberty and equality, became a flourishing slave market.

Slave labour proved preferable to white indentured labour. The slave cost more in initial outlay, £50 instead of £10 to take average figures; but he was a possession for life and he produced offspring who were also slaves. He may have been less efficient but he was more docile and less likely to run away. His value was, of course, greatest in the southern colonies, both on account of the climate and the nature of the work required of him on the big plantations growing tobacco, rice and indigo. (No cotton was grown on the mainland till after the establishment of independence.) In South Carolina the negroes outnumbered the white population from early in the eighteenth till near the end

of the nineteenth century. But though slaves were apparently never more than eight per cent of the population in any colony north of Maryland there were some slaves in every colony down to, and for a short time after, the establishment of independence. The slaves in the northern states were usually household servants, and are said to have been kept in many cases to mark the social distinction of their owners. There were indeed a few negro slaves in eighteenth-century England until slavery was abolished by a decision of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield in 1773.

In 1763, which may be regarded as the terminal date of this chapter, the total population was a little over 1,500,000 of which nearly 300,000 were slaves, nearly 20 per cent. To-day the negro population of the United States is a little under 10 per cent. Since the abolition of the slave trade in 1808 the increase has been 'natural increase', i.e. by births to the existing population, whereas during the same period there has been of course an immense white immigration.

The constitutional history of the colonies is a complicated story, because no two colonies had quite the same history in this, or indeed in any other, respect. It will be sufficient to summarize the matter in general terms. *Every* colony had an elected legislative assembly, sometimes consisting of one chamber or 'house' and sometimes of two. In this they differed from, and enjoyed greater freedom than, the colonies of practically all other European countries. *No* colony had a really democratic franchise giving every white male adult a vote. Some were more democratic than others, but the general tendency was for the franchise to become less democratic as time passed. As each colony developed a western frontier of poorer settlers—some for geographical reasons developed more than others in this respect—the tendency was for the Assembly to pass more and more into control of the coastal people.

Most of the colonies forfeited their original charters some time or other in the seventeenth century, and the new charter transferred the appointment of the governor from the board of directors to the Crown, but as in most cases the directors had been resident in England the change made little real difference to the colonists. For Massachusetts, however, where the directors had migrated to the colony and become colonists themselves, the change (1684) was a serious one. Among other things it involved the abolition of the old franchise based on church member-

ship in favour of a new one based, as in ungodly countries, on wealth. When the eighteenth century opened, seven colonies, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, North and South Carolina, were 'royal' colonies. Three, Maryland, Pennsylvania and Delaware, still had their governors appointed by the original proprietors, and there was perhaps more friction between governors and assemblies in these 'proprietary' colonies than in any of the 'royal' ones except Massachusetts. Two small colonies, Connecticut and Rhode Island, continued to elect their own governors and all other officials and, except that their trade was controlled by British-made duties and restrictions, were practically independent.

In addition to the governor and the assembly there was a council, roughly what we should call a cabinet. In most colonies this was nominated by the governor, but in Massachusetts it was elected by the assembly. Thus the Governorship of Massachusetts was no bed of roses. Indeed, the post was a difficult one in all the colonies, for the governor's salary was dependent on the vote of the assembly and the assembly constantly sought to control his policy by withholding his income, exactly as Stuart parliaments had sought to coerce Stuart kings. Partly perhaps for this reason, and partly because colonial service was not congenial to the British aristocracy, the great majority of colonial governors were very second-rate men.

From the British point of view the multiplicity of small colonies was a thorough nuisance. James II, an enterprising if unwise monarch, tried to unite all the colonies from New Hampshire down to Delaware in a single unit under the rule of Sir Edward Andros. This experiment, loudly denounced as tyranny by the colonists, ended with the overthrow of James II. Again in 1754, on the eve of the Seven Years War when the colonies were seriously threatened by French and Indian aggressive designs, representatives of all the colonies north of Virginia met at Albany, in New York colony, at the suggestion of the British government, to consider a plan of union. The plan was warmly advocated by the most eminent living American, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, who held that, without union, the colonies would be devoured by the French. He coined the neat slogan 'Hang together or hang separately'. The delegates accepted the plan and agreed to recommend it to their several colonies; but the colonies refused to take it up. There was very little 'American' sentiment, then or long afterwards. The

colonist thought of himself as Virginian or Pennsylvanian. If he thought in larger terms, he thought of himself not as an American but as a British subject with the rights and (perhaps) the duties of a subject of the British Crown. Each colony had much more contact with Britain than with the other colonies, except perhaps the next-door colony, with which a state of quarrel on some local matter would be endemic.

From government it is natural to pass on to the press. Newspapers and sermons were the staple literary products of the colonies, and the newspapers were of course active in baiting the unfortunate governors. In 1733, one Zenger, presumably a German colonist and editor of the *New York Weekly Journal*, was prosecuted on a charge of libel for accusing the governor of corruption. He was defended by Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, the most celebrated lawyer in America, who took a most unusual step in accepting a brief outside his own colony. It appears that, on points of law, Zenger was plainly guilty, and Hamilton boldly invited the jury to ignore the law and give a verdict in accord with the higher principle of 'liberty'. He won his case and established a 'freedom of the press' which Franklin, himself also a journalist, did not regard as an unmitigated blessing.

'Business' of one sort or another, agricultural in the case of the vast majority, was the first concern of the colonists. One hardly knows whether politics or religion came second. It is a mistake to regard puritanism as confined to New England, though there it assumed its intensest forms. The English puritans settled in almost all the colonies, and many of the non-English settlers, Ulster-Irish, Huguenots and Germans, were also of the puritan type, and the type survived long after it had declined in the more cultivated atmosphere of Europe. If a colonist was not of the puritan type he was generally altogether indifferent to religion. The most remarkable manifestation of religion in eighteenth-century Britain was the evangelical movement of Wesley and Whitefield. Both these evangelists visited America, and though Wesley's visit to Georgia was a failure complicated by an unhappy love affair, Whitefield made a great impression in Boston and Philadelphia. But the colonists also produced a great evangelist of their own in Jonathan Edwards. His sermons created a profound impression, and were such as we do not often hear to-day. For example, when preaching on the text 'Their

feet shall slide in due time', he said:—'The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider or some loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you and is dreadfully provoked; his wrath towards you burns like fire; he looks upon you as worthy of nothing else but to be cast into the fire; he is of purer eyes than to bear to have you in his sight; you are ten thousand times so abominable in his sight as the most hateful and venomous serpent is in ours.' Edwards' sermons were often interrupted by appreciative groans from the congregation.

It is a far cry from Jonathan Edwards to his contemporary Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), the only colonial American before Washington to achieve wide European celebrity. Franklin, the son of a New England puritan, established himself as a printer in Philadelphia, after first going to London to learn the best that could be learnt about his trade. In Philadelphia he produced a newspaper which soon secured the widest circulation in America, and his annual miscellany 'Poor Richard's Almanack' circulated in England and, translated, in France and Germany. He was the first and one of the greatest of the 'practical men' in whom America delights. He coined the slogan 'God helps those who help themselves'. He started the first American fire insurance company and invented a new sort of stove, but what won him the widest fame was his work on electricity. He first proved that lightning was an electrical phenomenon and invented the lightning conductor. He also first distinguished positive and negative electricity (1752). Meanwhile he had gone into politics, and was conspicuous at the Albany Convention, already described. In 1764 his colony sent him to England to negotiate, if possible, the transfer of Pennsylvania from the Penn family to the Crown, but a year later the Stamp Act concentrated all attention on the quarrel between the Crown and the colonies. Franklin worked for the reconciliation of the colonies and the mother country but when it had become in his opinion impossible he returned to America and supported the revolution. He helped to frame the Declaration of Independence (1776) and was sent to France to work for the French Alliance. Finally, in extreme old age, he was a member of the Convention which drafted the American constitution. His life covers almost the whole eighteenth century. Already a prosperous man of business when the youngest of the colonies, Georgia, was born, he lived to be, in his eighty-fourth year, a citizen of the United States.

BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY

We have seen how incoherent and how largely mistaken were the ideas which led the statesmen of the early seventeenth century to project colonies in America. If the founders of Virginia could have foreseen that their colony would be little more than a plantation for growing tobacco by negro slave labour, they would not have undertaken the venture. After the Restoration (1660), however, the character of the colonies became clear, and statesmen at home had to formulate a colonial policy in accordance with the facts. That policy, elaborated between 1660 and 1760, is generally called the mercantilist policy. It was common to all European states possessing colonies, though most of them carried its principles to much greater lengths than Britain.

It was assumed that colonies existed for the good of the mother country. Perhaps it would be fairer to say—for the good of the whole community, mother and daughter country together; but as the mother was a hundred times bigger than the daughter, her good was a hundred times more important; also she was in a position to decide what was good for her, and the daughter was not. Colonies existed to supply what the mother country wanted and could not supply for herself and to take in exchange what the mother country wanted to export. Regulation by the mother country was to be used to direct the colonies into these useful paths. For example an Act of Charles II's first parliament (1660) contained a list of colonial products, 'enumerated articles' as they came to be called, which were not to be shipped from the colonies to any country except England. The list lengthened as time went on, and contained nearly all the principal colonial exports—tobacco, pitch, tar, timber, furs. Rice could be sent to some European countries but not others. At the same time, the colonies were forbidden to manufacture goods which they were expected to import from Britain. They were not, for example, allowed to make fur hats, even with their own furs, because that would interfere with the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The system became more and more complicated as time passed, and it is not necessary to examine the details of what to most people is a tedious subject. A few general remarks must, however, be made. The system seems to us absurd. We no longer condemn it as free-traders, after the manner of nineteenth-century historians, for we have ourselves abandoned free trade; but we can only regard as tyrannical a regulation of colonial

trade such as the mercantilism of the eighteenth century. But it was not so regarded at the time, either in Britain or in America. This or that item in the restrictions might be condemned, but the system as a whole was taken for granted. Again, it is often said that the system was evaded by wholesale smuggling, but that is probably a great exaggeration, and is only true of certain particularly unreasonable regulations, the Molasses Act of 1733 for example, described below.

As British statesmen surveyed their American colonies it must often have occurred to them that as their distance from the equator increased, their usefulness, by mercantile standards, diminished. The most useful were the sugar islands, producing a staple food so essential that it is difficult to imagine how Greek, Roman and medieval folk ever got on without it—producing sugar and nothing but sugar, so that they bought everything they wanted in Britain. Less valuable, but satisfactory, were the rice and tobacco colonies of the mainland. Least useful were the New Englanders who, just because they lived in a cold country, produced nothing that England wanted and wanted but little from England. In Queen Anne's reign, for example, the Board of Trade and Plantations, established in 1696 and the equivalent of the modern Colonial Office, complained that the New England colonies had promoted and encouraged manufactures proper to England, instead of 'applying their thoughts and endeavours to the production of such commodities as are fit to be encouraged in those parts, according to the true design and intention of those plantations'. Britain thought of each colony as a cog-wheel in a complicated system of production and exchange. Jamaica fitted this philosophy: New England did not.

New England, in fact, evolved her own system of production and exchange and it cut across that evolved in London. Her ships carried her own products to a tropical country where they were wanted, namely the West Indies, instead of to Britain, another temperate country where they were not wanted. She exchanged them for molasses (treacle) from which she made rum. The rum was partly consumed at home and partly taken to Africa and exchanged for slaves. The slaves were then taken to the West Indies and exchanged for more molasses.* Unfortunately the British West Indian islands did not suffice, and the

* Comparatively few slaves were imported direct to the mainland colonies. It was found that raw Africans did best in the tropical West Indies, from which slaves of the second generation were exported to the less tropical mainland.

New Englanders transferred their trade more and more to the French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe because they did better business. The British West Indies protested to parliament which, in 1733, laid a prohibitively high duty of sixpence a gallon on the import of French molasses into New England. Had the law been enforced New England would have suffered serious damage. It was not. The trade went on as before, though illegal and forbidden, and New England learnt that British legislation could be both hostile in intention and innocuous in fact.

This is merely the most notable of several possible examples. Throughout the eighteenth century up to the American revolution, the British parliament becomes more and more active in mercantilist legislation, and the colonies, especially the New England colonies, more and more disposed to judge trade by the standard of American rather than imperial interests.

The other big series of events in this period arose out of the growing rivalry with France. Never were two colonial systems less alike than those of the British and French colonies in America. The differences were due in part to national characteristics and in part to geography. French Canada had never drawn any considerable population from France. Though as old as Virginia its white population even in 1760 was only about 50,000. But, established on the great waterway of the St. Lawrence, it extended itself easily and naturally right into the centre of the continent, outflanking the Appalachians. One of the curiosities of American geography is that at three points, near Lakes Ontario, Michigan and Superior, navigable rivers of the Mississippi system pass within a few miles of the St. Lawrence waterways. So the French passed easily on to the Ohio and the Mississippi. As early as 1683, La Salle made his way down to the mouth of the Mississippi and thirty years later New Orleans, the capital of Louisiana, was established at its mouth. Canada was a colony of fur trappers, missionary priests and soldiers. The French had no objection to the Indians. They associated with them as hunters and took their women as wives or mistresses. The unassisted Indian had been little more than a nuisance to the early English settlers. Indian tribes armed and supported by France were another matter altogether.

The ambitions of Louis XIV and the accession of his lifelong enemy William of Orange to the English throne opened what is

sometimes called the second hundred years war between France and Britain. It ended only with the downfall of Napoleon. We are concerned here only with the first half of the period. The period 1689 to 1763 embraced four Anglo-French wars and one Anglo-Spanish war.

In the first war, which American histories call King William's War (1689-97), the French and Indians raided New England and New York state from the St. Lawrence valley, and Governor Phips of Massachusetts made an unsuccessful attack on Quebec. Britain gave no assistance to her colonies and they were not mentioned in the Treaty of Ryswick which concluded the war.

In the War of the Spanish Succession, or Queen Anne's War (1701-13), Britain tried to support her colonists by sending out naval expeditions for the conquest of Canada, but these expeditions were mismanaged. Once again there were French and Indian attacks overland on the northern colonies, and the Spaniards of Florida raided Carolina. In Europe, however, Marlborough's victorious campaigns secured a peace treaty (Utrecht, 1713), which deprived the French of Nova Scotia and their settlements in Newfoundland, to the great advantage of the New England fishing industry.

In 1739 the war against Spain, known as the War of Jenkins' Ear, broke out. Over 3,700 colonists, mostly New Englanders, volunteered for service in a naval expedition against the Spanish West Indies, of whom over two-thirds died, mostly as a result of the appalling conditions prevailing in British ships at the time. Among the volunteers who served in the British Navy in this war was a wealthy Virginian, elder brother of George Washington, who was with Admiral Vernon in his attack on Cartagena. He happily survived, and when he afterwards built himself a house in Virginia he called it Mount Vernon. On his death it passed to his brother George and became his home. It is to-day a Washington memorial and museum. Thus the founder of the United States is commemorated in a house which bears the name of a British admiral.*

The Jenkins' Ear War soon got merged in the War of the Austrian Succession against France (1742-48). This time British

* Admiral Vernon was nicknamed Grog because he wore an overcoat made of a coarse textile called grogan. He introduced the wholesome practice of serving the rum ration to his crews not neat as heretofore but diluted with an equal quantity of water. This strong, but not so strong, drink was consequently called 'grog', a name which has survived.

naval assistance proved more effective and a British fleet under Warren with a New Englander army under Peperell captured the French fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Unfortunately the French under Dupleix in India had at the same time occupied Madras, and in the peace treaty Madras and Louisbourg were exchanged and reverted to their previous owners. The New Englanders felt they had been sacrificed for British interests on the other side of the globe.

But the decisive struggle, which would decide whether France or Britain secured the Mississippi valley, was at hand. Americans call this 'the French and Indian war'; it formed a part of what Europe calls the Seven Years War. The French were building forts on the Ohio, and a group of Virginians, among them two elder brothers of Washington, had secured a large grant of land beyond the Appalachians in the same valley. The British colonists were getting astride of the mountains, and the French were getting in ahead of them by an easier route. There was not room for both. In 1753 Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent a small expedition against the French at Fort Duquesne under the command of George Washington, then aged twenty-one. He was outnumbered and had to surrender at Fort Necessity. There followed the movement for union at the Albany Convention, already described. In 1754, two British regiments arrived in Virginia under Braddock. Braddock proved himself quite unequal to the problems of warfare in the backwoods and his expedition was cut to pieces by the French and Indians on the Monongahela river. Further disastrous British expeditions against the French at various points on their far-flung frontier followed in 1756-57, until Pitt rose to power. What followed is well known. In a series of victorious campaigns in 1758-59, the French were overwhelmed at every point, the culminating event being Wolfe's capture of Quebec. In 1761 Spain most unwisely entered the war as an ally of France. As a result, not only was the French empire entirely destroyed in North America, but Florida was also surrendered by Spain. Louisiana, west of the Mississippi, was handed over by France to Spain. New Orleans thus became, and remained for the next forty years, an outpost of the vast Spanish empire which stretched from the Mississippi to Cape Horn. Such were the results secured at the Treaty of Paris, 1763.

In the earlier phases of this seventy years of intermittent war-

fare, the colonists had borne the brunt with little effective support from Britain. In the last two victorious years it had been the other way round. Britain had conquered the French empire with very little colonial assistance. The only mainly colonial expedition was that under Forbes against Fort Duquesne, and it won no glory for it found its objective already abandoned.* Wolfe had very few colonial troops with him and of these he wrote in terms of trenchant and unmitigated contempt.† Throughout the war the New Englanders had continued, in spite of protests, their profitable trade with the French West Indies. But however one may choose to allot the honours between the colonies and the mother country the important fact is that each, at the end of their warlike co-operation, felt a hearty dislike for the other. The British regarded the colonials as quarrelsome, inefficient and unpatriotic; they despised the inter-colonial jealousies which prevented one colony from co-operating wholeheartedly with another. The Americans found the British regulars conceited and overbearing. They resented the system, which Pitt did his best to rectify, according to which any colonial officer ranked below a subaltern of the British regular army. This was a grievance of Lt.-Colonel George Washington, and played its part in preparing him to lead the rebellion fifteen years later.

In fact, while the removal of the French menace made the independence of the British colonies a feasible proposition, the process of removing it stimulated the state of mind which made that independence seem not altogether undesirable. Confronted with the British army, British colonials began to realize that they were 'Americans'.

* Fort Duquesne was re-named Fort Pitt, and became the site of the great city of Pittsburgh. Washington served under Forbes on this occasion.

† Wolfe wrote: 'The Americans are in general the dirtiest, most contemptible cowardly dogs you can conceive. There's no depending on 'em in action. They fall down dead in their own dirt and desert by battalions, officers and all.' On the other hand, after Braddock's expedition, which he accompanied and on which he distinguished himself, Washington wrote: 'The dastardly behaviour of the English soldiers exposed all those who were inclined to do their duty to almost certain death.' These judgments cancel each other, but they throw a flood of light on Anglo-American relations, for both Wolfe and Washington were great men and great soldiers.

The American Revolution 1763-83

THE QUARREL 1763-75

HISTORIANS have elaborated in great detail the causes of the American rebellion against British rule and we must follow in their footsteps. Each of these causes was a pretext rather than a cause. The colonists found causes of quarrel because they had reached a stage in their development when British control was more of a hindrance than a help to them. And for that simple reason, and in spite of the weakness of most of the arguments they used to give their rebellion a legal justification, they were right in their determination to get rid of British control. They still, for the most part, prided themselves on British citizenship, but they wanted the conditions of that citizenship to be different from what they were. It is often said that British statesmen made almost every conceivable mistake in the treatment of the colonists. That is perhaps true. Certainly no great British statesmen arose to handle the problem. But the problem was a new kind of problem and no successful solution of it was found until, in very different conditions, nearly a hundred years later, the present relations of the self-governing British Dominions to the mother country began to take shape. The problem which British statesmen failed to solve also baffled other European states with colonies containing extensive white populations. The Spanish colonies revolted against Spain fifty years later. The South African Dutch were already almost independent of Holland when Great Britain annexed the Cape, and the French Canadians never showed any desire to be reunited with France.

When the treaty of Paris was about to be made there was discussion in Britain whether we should insist on retaining Canada or the rich French sugar island of Guadeloupe. To-day it seems strange that there should be any such controversy, but if one tries to realize the relative values of the eighteenth century, one may wonder why Guadeloupe was not preferred. A sugar island was a valuable property, but what was the value of Canada? Presumably we preferred Canada not for its prospects as a future 'Do-



NEW YORK IN 1679

Note the Dutch style of architecture—a reminder that the city was originally a Dutch colony, called New Amsterdam.

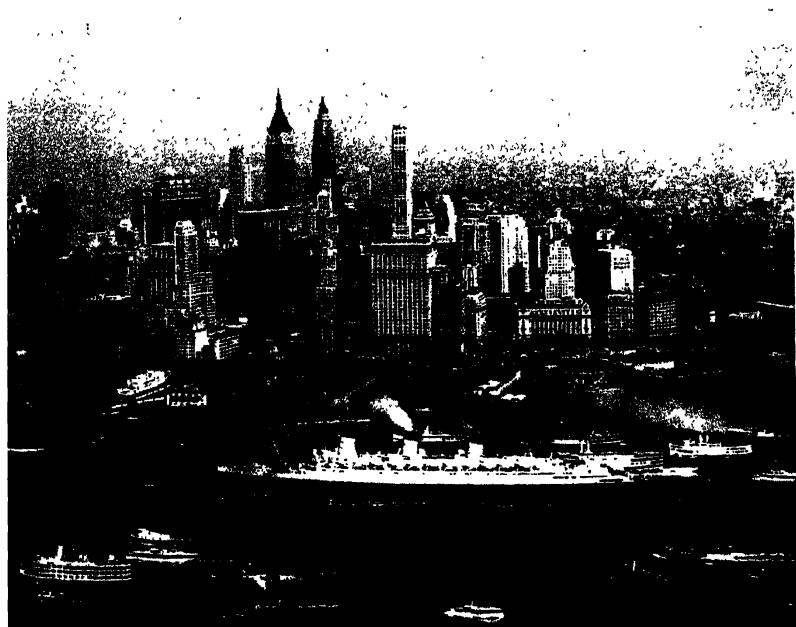


PLATE II

The BLOODY MASSACRE perpetrated in King-Street, Boston, on the 23rd March 1770, by a party of the 29th REGT.



Unhappy Boston! see thy Sons deplore,
Thy hollow'd Walks bescur'd with gulf'd Gore,
While faithless P—n and his savage Bands
With murderous Rancour stretch their blood-stained Hands,
Like fierce Barbarians grinning o'er their Prey,
Approve the Cruage and enjoy the Day.

If falling drops from fangs from Anguish's Wound,
If speechless Sorrow's sobbing for a Tongue
Or if a weeping World can ought appease
The plaintive Cries of Victims such as these,
The Patriot's copious Tears for each are shed,
A glorious Tribute which embalms the Dead.

But know your Sufferers to that awful Goul,
Where Justice strips the blind veil of his Soul,
Should vent C— as the scandal of the Land,
Snatch the reſent'd Victim from her Hand,
Keen Executions on this Plate infernal
Shall reach a Judge who never can be err'd.

The unhappy Sufferers were Messrs. SAMUEL GRAY, SAMUEL MAVERICK, JAMES CALDWELL, CRISPUS ATTUCK, & PETER
Killed. Six wounded, one of them (CHRISTOPHER MONK & JOHN CLARK) Mortally.

THE BOSTON MASSACRE, 1770
A contemporary engraving by Paul Revere.

minion' but in order to remove a menace from our own colonies. When the French statesman Vergennes heard that we were going to keep Canada he said, 'They will ere long repent the removal of the only check that kept their own colonies in awe'. A Frenchman had said the same thing fifty years before. 'If the French colony failed, the English colonies would become independent.'

Certainly the years immediately preceding the famous Stamp Act, which traditionally figures the start of the quarrel, contain plenty of evidence that the colonists were not only already discontented but were prepared to deny the existence of British sovereignty whenever its exercise irritated them. There was the case of the 'writs of assistance' in Massachusetts and the so-called 'parson's cause' (i.e. case) in Virginia.

The smuggling trade carried on by the New Englanders with the French West Indian islands during the Seven Years War was naturally resented by the British authorities. Among the New Englanders it was so little disapproved of that it was almost impossible to get witnesses to testify against an offender. An ordinary writ or warrant, giving an official the right to search the house mentioned in the writ, proving inadequate, there were issued what were called 'writs of assistance', giving officials right to search wherever they thought necessary. This was resented, and when a case involving such a writ was brought before the Massachusetts courts a Boston lawyer named Otis argued that the writs were illegal because the British parliament could not legalize tyranny. As a point of law the argument is of course ridiculous, for parliament is sovereign and can legalize whatever it chooses to legalize, from the burning of heretics downwards. This was in 1761, and the name of Otis traditionally heads the chronological list of the patriots of the American revolution.

The Virginian legislature had made a law enabling the colony to pay clergymen's salaries in money instead of tobacco. It had been vetoed by the King on the advice of his British ministers, on the ground that it covered a design for reducing the salaries of those unpopular persons, the clergy of the established church in Virginia. The Rev. James Manry, being paid what he perhaps rightly regarded as a poor cash equivalent of his previous tobacco salary, brought an action to secure payment at what he considered the proper rate. The case, which should have turned on rival estimates of the market price of tobacco, was diverted to the prerogative of George III. A young lawyer named Patrick Henry declared that a king who vetoes a law designed for the good

of his people 'degenerates into a tyrant and forfeits all claim to his subjects' obedience'. So Henry became a hero in Virginia (1763) and his eloquence—'give me liberty or give me death' and all the rest of it—resounded through the next twenty years.

Almost before the ink of the treaty of Paris was dry the colonies were subjected to a savage Indian attack under the leadership of a chief named Pontiac. It is probable that these Indians were instigated and armed by French agents seeking a revenge for the loss of their empire. As soon as the news reached England the government put into operation a plan it had been some time meditating, and issued what is called the Proclamation of 1763. This put a ring fence round the colonies along the eastern ridges of the Appalachians, regardless both of frontiers previously assigned to the colonies and of grants of land already made to individuals. There was some excuse for the policy. The colonies' treatment of Indian tribes had been both cruel and inefficient. Having acquired the vast Indian empire of France, Great Britain intended to govern it, at any rate for the present, by French rather than British methods. She also intended to keep the colonists out of the fur trade of Ohio valley and reserve it for her own Hudson's Bay Company. What lay beyond the proclamation line was to be under direct British control unhampered by colonial self-government. This matter played but a small part in the controversies of the next twelve years, but it is important because it prejudiced against Britain the land speculators from Pennsylvania southwards, such as the Washington family. Most of the quarrel of the next twelve years centred in Boston, but when, in the course of it and at the end of it, Boston appealed for the support of the more southern colonies, she found a ready response.

George Grenville was now prime minister. The lot of post-war prime ministers is proverbially hard, and Grenville's was no exception. Trade was bad, and the national debt had been doubled. It seemed desirable, after the Pontiac rebellion, to retain a British garrison of ten thousand men in the American colonies. It would defend the colonies against the Indians—and also, perhaps, strengthen the hands of the colonial governors against the ever-increasing hostility of their elected Assemblies. It was also reasonable that the colonies should pay the cost of the garrison. Grenville set himself to enforce the customs duties of the mercantile system, which for years past had been so slackly administered that they failed to pay the cost of collecting them. The notorious molasses duty was halved, but a fleet of revenue

cutters was established to prevent smuggling and enforce the payment of this and other duties.

Then in 1765 came the Stamp Act. Of this Act Macaulay, writing for once on a subject of which he knew nothing, declared that it 'found two million Americans as loyal as Kent or Sussex and left them rebels'. Actually the Stamp Act was a reasonable measure—or would have been if the Americans had been as loyal as Kent or Sussex. Before asking the British parliament to impose the tax Grenville sent for the London agents of the thirteen colonies and explained to them the position as he saw it. Great Britain had doubled her national debt as a result of a war which had delivered the American colonies from the menace of France. The rebellion of Pontiac, and the notorious inability or unwillingness of the colonies to assist each other when attacked by Indians, proved the necessity of what we should to-day call an imperial policy and an imperial defence force. The colonists were to be asked to pay only part of the expenses of this force. If they were willing to raise the money themselves in their own assemblies, so much the better. If they were unwilling to do this but could suggest a British tax preferable to the proposed stamp duty, Grenville would gladly consider it. The agents were given a whole year to consult their fellow-colonists. But the colonies were determined neither to produce the money themselves nor to admit their liability to taxation by the British government. They addressed petitions to the British parliament protesting against any form of taxation, one of these petitions asserting that the enactment of the Stamp Act 'would establish the melancholy truth that the inhabitants of the colonies are the slaves of the Britons from whom they are descended'. Grenville imagined that this eloquence was very largely bluff. He went ahead and the Stamp Act was passed in 1765.

The taxes imposed by the Stamp Act were much less heavy than those already imposed by similar legislation in Britain. The revenue raised would have paid no more than a part of the cost of the garrison and would have imposed no serious burden on the purchasers of the stamps. But it was a novelty; the colonies like Britain were suffering from a post-war slump, and it gave an opening to men of a type familiar in the early stages of all revolutions, the professional agitators. Such men were Sam Adams and James Otis in Massachusetts and Patrick Henry in Virginia. There were others in each colony and they co-operated by means of an organized system of

Committees of Correspondence established by the various colonial assemblies. Of these men Sam Adams was the most influential. He had failed in business, as such men usually do; he had infinite energy, a great fertility of speech and writing, a love of intrigue and the inspiration of hate. Historians have debated whether he was a sincere patriot or simply an ambitious adventurer, but it does not much matter which he was. More than any other one man he created the atmosphere of the American revolution, but the revolution would have come even if he had never been born. There were plenty of others to do his work.

The Stamp Act imposed stamp duties on legal documents of various kinds, including the licences of taverns, various types of commercial contracts, and on newspapers and advertisements. It is not surprising that lawyers, tavern-keepers, traders and newspaper owners were among its principal opponents, and British history has proved more than once that the tavern, or public-house, is an excellent place for the manufacture of popular agitation. But this fact does not account for the really remarkable explosion of mob violence which followed the Act. The fact is that the colonies had developed what modern jargon calls a proletariat, a large class of landless and propertyless people, neglected by their own governments, and ripe for revolution. These were persuaded, for the moment, that Britain was the cause of their distresses. Later on they discovered, more accurately, that the cause was the rule of the colonial upper classes. The revolt against England was only one half of the American revolution; the other half was the revolt against the rule of the wealthy coastal families. The first revolt led to independence; the second, more gradually, to democracy.

The mob riots over the Stamp Act gave the wealthy American colonists food for thought. Just as the violence of the Long Parliament and the London mobs created a Cavalier party which gathered round Charles I, so the violence of the followers of Sam Adams and other demagogues turned many wealthy colonists into supporters of the British connexion—Loyalists or Tories, as they were called. One cannot call them a party, for they never achieved any organization, though when the war came it is estimated that 50,000 Loyalists fought at one time or another on the British side.

Mob violence was one American answer to the Stamp Act. There were two others. Numbers of Americans set themselves to boycott English goods and to live as far as possible on homely

colonial products—a device adopted by Indian patriots in more recent times under the name of *swadeshi*. Some gentlemen even went so far as to stop buying knee-breeches exported from the best London shops and to clothe their legs in colonial trousers as if they were mere common men.

But rioting and self-denial were not enough. It was necessary for the leaders of American opinion to present a reasoned case to the British government against the Stamp Act. They formulated a theory of the British constitution which denied the sovereignty of the British parliament, much as Stuart parliaments had denied the divine right of Stuart kings. They held that their charters, being granted by the British *crown*, could not be touched by parliamentary legislation, ignoring the fact that all British legislation receives royal assent and is itself therefore an action of the crown. They invented, or rather their supporters in England invented for them, a distinction between internal and external taxation. External taxation, i.e. customs duties on imports, was within the jurisdiction of the British parliament; internal taxes, such as the Stamp Act, were not. They raised the cry which Hampden had raised against taxes imposed by Charles I—‘No taxation without representation’; not because they wanted representation in the British parliament but because they did not want taxation. The argument was that the British parliament was not entitled to tax the colonists because they were not represented in the British parliament. But if Massachusetts sent no member to Westminster, nor did Manchester; and many citizens of Massachusetts were taxed by the Massachusetts Assembly who were excluded from any share in electing its members.

All these American arguments broke down in face of the fact that, since the English revolution of 1689, the absolute sovereignty of parliament had become the keystone of the British constitution. Such a constitution had become unsuited to American needs, and that justified an American revolution; but no argument could prove any Act of Parliament unconstitutional or inapplicable to any territory which accepted the sovereignty of the British crown, however unjust or unwise the Act might be. As Americans came to realize this they appealed less to their own interpretations of the British constitution and more to what was called ‘the Law of Nature’, which is above all constitutions and is in fact the revolutionist’s Bible, in which he can find whatever text he pleases.

One of the results of the Stamp Act was the Stamp Act

Congress, as it is called, the first common assembly of the colonies to meet on the initiative of one of their number. At the suggestion of the Massachusetts assembly delegates from nine colonies met at New York, but their views proved disappointingly moderate and little attention was paid to them.

In 1766 the Rockingham government repealed the Stamp Act because British merchants said it was bad for their American trade; in any case it had proved impossible to enforce the use of the stamps. At the same time a Declaratory Act was passed declaring the right of the British parliament to legislate on all subjects for the American colonies. This Act was similar in terms to an Act of 1719 which had completed the subjection of Ireland to British legislation: an ominous parallel.

In the next year, however, there was another change of government and Townshend imposed import duties on tea, paper, paint and lead. They were to raise the modest sum of £40,000 for the payment of colonial governors' salaries. The duties would therefore not increase the taxation of the colonies, for these salaries had hitherto been paid from revenue raised in each colony by the vote of the colonial assemblies. The purpose was to make governors independent of the colonial 'power of the purse'. From this date onwards Sam Adams demanded complete independence as the goal of colonial agitation.

Townshend's duties roused less clamour than the Stamp Act had done, but a notorious piece of smuggling by John Hancock, the wealthiest of Boston smugglers, led to the establishment of a British garrison in Boston and in 1770 some of these soldiers were involved in the affair called the Boston massacre. A squad guarding the custom house, goaded to reprisals by a crowd of patriotic toughs, fired upon them, killing five and wounding eight. Two young Boston lawyers, John Adams and Josiah Quincy, undertook the defence of the accused soldiers, and they were acquitted on the main charges by a Boston jury—a remarkable example of the impartiality of Anglo-American traditions of justice. In the same year Lord North repealed the duties on paint, paper and lead, leaving only that on tea. At the same time the molasses duty was reduced to a penny a gallon and imposed on all imported molasses whatever the country of origin, i.e. it ceased to be a duty designed to benefit one group of British colonies at the expense of another and became simply a tax for revenue. A spirit of reconciliation was beginning to prevail on both sides.

But a spirit of violence, once unchained, is not easily chained

up again. In 1772 a British revenue cutter, the *Gaspee*, ran aground on the coast of Rhode Island. Before it could be towed off, a company of the Islanders had boarded it, seized the crew, and set it on fire. Orders were given that the guilty men should, in accordance with a more or less obsolete statute, be sent to England for trial, but no amount of enquiry led to the discovery of the authors of the outrage, and the colonial authorities, instead of assisting the enquiry, occupied themselves with protests against the order to hold the trial in England.

In 1773 occurred the affair of Governor Hutchinson's letters. Hutchinson was governor of Massachusetts, and a man of considerable distinction. Though appointed by the Crown he was, unlike most colonial governors, a native of the colony and a member of one of the oldest New England families, being a great-grandson of Ann Hutchinson who had been expelled to Rhode Island for her religious views in 1635. He had joined in the opposition to the Stamp Act, but had afterwards been frightened by the outbreak of mob violence into what was called a Tory, or loyalist, policy. A collection of his private letters to friends in England, containing outspoken comments on the revolutionary movement, came somehow into the possession of Benjamin Franklin, at that time resident in England, and Franklin, by a gross breach of trust, sent them to the Massachusetts assembly. The Massachusetts assembly thereupon petitioned the Privy Council for the removal of Hutchinson from his post, and the Solicitor-General, Wedderburn, appearing as counsel for Hutchinson, took occasion to deliver a scathing tirade at Franklin's expense. Wedderburn's aspersions on the honour of the greatest living American were much resented in the colonies, but it is greatly to Franklin's credit that he continued to work for conciliation until the war began two years later.

In the same year, 1773, a well-intentioned blunder precipitated the final crisis. The East India Company was in difficulties and unable to dispose of large surplus stocks of tea, partly because the American colonists, since the imposition of the tea duties, had been living very largely on smuggled tea from the Dutch East Indies. Hitherto East Indian tea had come direct to England, where it paid a duty of a shilling a pound, and had been afterwards purchased by American shippers for sale in the colonies. North's government hit upon a plan which, while involving a loss to British revenue, would benefit both the East India Company and the American consumer. The East India Company

was empowered to ship its tea direct to American ports, without payment of the British duty. The Townshend duty of threepence a pound would be paid, but Americans would get their tea cheaper than ever before. This amiable plan failed to reckon with the interests of the American shippers who had formerly brought the tea from England. It also failed to reckon with the interests of John Hancock and his like, whose warehouses were full of smuggled Dutch tea, which they had expected to sell at a handsome profit. What followed illustrated the ease with which small numbers of wealthy American capitalists could secure mobs to execute any outrage however senseless, provided it was directed against Britain. The object was, of course, to prevent the cheap tea getting to the American consumer. At Boston an organized gang of two hundred men, childishly disguised as Indian braves, threw the cargo of tea into Boston harbour. At other American ports the tea ships were not allowed to land their cargoes and had to take them back to England.

At last British patience was exhausted. There followed (1774) a series of measures, known in popular American tradition as 'the intolerable acts'. The two most important of these Acts closed Boston harbour until the tea should be paid for and suspended the Massachusetts constitution, appointing a military governor, General Gage, with dictatorial powers. Others provided for the billeting of British soldiers and their exemption from processes of law initiated in the Massachusetts courts. The Quebec Act of the same year is also reckoned among the intolerable Acts, though it is known elsewhere as the Magna Carta of Canada. This famous statute gave offence by legalizing and establishing in Canada the Roman Catholic church of the French inhabitants, a form of religion still at that date accounted idolatry by the average New Englander. It also gave more reasonable offence by proclaiming all land north of the Ohio as part of Canada, in spite of the claims which Virginia, New York and other colonies had established on various parts of that territory. It showed that the policy of the Proclamation of 1763, during recent years more or less forgotten as it would seem on both sides of the Atlantic, was to be revived and applied in earnest.

The immediate rejoinder of the colonies was the summoning of what is called the First Continental Congress, which met at Philadelphia in September 1774 and held fifty-two sessions. All the colonies sent representatives. Among them were Sam Adams

of Massachusetts, whose effective career was almost over, and his cousin John Adams, the lawyer, whose career was still in its early stages; John Jay of New York, whom we shall meet again; John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, whose *Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer* had been the most effective and convincing statement of the colonial case against British policy; from Virginia George Washington, the wealthy tobacco planter, and Patrick Henry, the eloquent lawyer whose 'Virginia resolutions' had pledged his colony to oppose the Stamp Act; his speech comparing George III with Tarquin and other traditional tyrants had enrolled his name in the front rank of American agitators: from South Carolina Christopher Gadsden, who may be called the Sam Adams of the South. More than half the delegates, it is said, had never been outside their own colonies before. They passed resolutions pledging the colonies to refrain from all trade with Britain until their grievances were redressed, and arranged that another Congress should meet in May 1775. Before that date came the war had begun.

A curious fact about this Congress is that one of its members, Joseph Galloway, afterwards a Loyalist, proposed a scheme almost identical with that which to-day unites the Mother Country and the Dominions. The American colonies were to be united in a federation and declared independent of the legislation of the British parliament, but were to continue to owe allegiance to the British crown. Galloway's proposal was defeated by six votes to five, the delegates of each colony voting as a group and two groups apparently not voting; but the proposal when made public proved so unpopular that Congress afterwards removed all record of this debate from the minutes of its proceedings. Galloway deserves to be remembered as an eighteenth-century man with a nineteenth-century vision. Such men are seldom popular and he was soon afterwards driven from his home in Philadelphia by threats of mob violence.

THE WAR—TO SARATOGA 1775-78

Before the forces on either side had fired a shot General Gage and his minute British garrison were practically besieged in Boston by the Massachusetts militia. In April 1775, hearing that the militia had a store of gunpowder at Concord, twenty miles inland, he sent a force of 800 men to take possession of it. His intention became known, and Paul Revere rode out ahead of the

troops to give warning. His ride, celebrated in a popular poem of Longfellow, is one of the most widely known incidents in American history. When the British, after a slight skirmish at Lexington, got to Concord they found the powder had been removed. On their return journey they were beset on all sides by the militia and lost more than a third of their number. The war had begun. British reinforcements, already on their way, arrived and brought the total of the garrison up to 7,000 men.

Boston stood on a narrow peninsula projecting into a bay. From the other side of the bay another peninsula juts out to meet it, the water between the two being less than a mile wide. In June the Americans occupied Breed's Hill, on this other peninsula, and the British had to get them out of it or evacuate Boston. Historians have since remarked that if Gage had chosen to occupy the neck of the Breed's Hill peninsula he could have starved the Americans out in a few days. Probably he preferred to give the 'Yankees'* a lesson, and ordered a frontal attack with 3,000 men. The Americans withheld their fire, according to orders, until they could see the whites of their enemies' eyes. As a result the British suffered over a thousand casualties, only capturing the position after the Americans had used up all their ammunition. The battle was mistakenly called Bunker Hill, the name of another hill close by, and the British have made the further mistake of calling it Bunker's Hill.

News of these events reached Congress now reassembled at Philadelphia. This body, known as the Second Continental Congress, became the executive organ of the alliance of the thirteen colonies down to the end of the war, and its existence was prolonged until it was succeeded by the government established under the constitution of the United States in 1789. The powers claimed by the Second Continental Congress scarcely entitle it to be called an American government. It was more like a sort of miniature League of Nations, or like the Allied Conference in Paris, which co-ordinated the war effort of the Allies during the later stages of the first world war (1914-18). Washington had from the first attended the meetings of the Second Congress in his military uniform, thereby silently indicating that he hoped to be

* The word 'Yankee' has been used in this paragraph. In England it was used (perhaps it is nearly obsolete?) as a familiar and sometimes contemptuous term for all Americans. In America it is applied only to New Englanders, or more generally to the people of the north-eastern coastal states. Thus in the American Civil War the Southerners called their opponents Yankees. The word may be a corruption of 'Anglais' used by Indians in contact with the French Canadians.

appointed to command the American forces. He had indeed been wearing the same uniform during the previous winter and drilling the militiamen of Virginia. His wish was granted, and he assumed command shortly after the battle of Bunker Hill.

George Washington was now forty-three years old, a very tall, powerfully built man, slow-moving, silent, and intensely dignified, a man of infinite patience and iron self-control. On the rare occasions when anger got the better of his self-control the result was, by general agreement, quite terrifying. He had declared his opposition to the Stamp Act in the Virginian assembly, but he had been but little interested in it and all the rest of the Bostonian quarrel. His interest was in the western development of the colonial estate, and he had reluctantly concluded that Britain was determined to thwart that development. It is often said that he was appointed to the command on account of his military experience, but there were various soldiers of fortune in America, Charles Lee for example, with much more military experience than Washington, who had never commanded more than 400 men, and had failed in his only independent command. Washington was appointed, on the initiative of John Adams, because he was a wealthy Virginian gentleman of high character. New England was already at war. The appointment of a leading citizen of the premier southern colony would encourage the other colonies to support New England in arms.

The appointment was a better one than anyone can have guessed at the time. Some years after Washington's death a certain Weems, a travelling preacher and author of religious tracts, wrote a *Life of Washington* in which he provided his hero with an entirely fictitious boyhood, garnished with moral tales designed to show that Washington could never tell a lie, and so on. The book had an immense sale among the humbler class of readers, and created the Washington legend. It is an absurd book, but in its intention it was not so very wide of the mark. For Washington was an example of that rare phenomenon, a very great man. He may not have been a military genius or a great statesman. He much preferred farming to soldiering, and he certainly preferred war to politics, but from the day he took up his command down to the day, twenty-two years later, when he resigned the presidency, he carried the fortunes of the United, or more often disunited, States on his own shoulders.

Meanwhile the colonists were taking the offensive. Ethan Allen of Vermont, soon to be an additional New England state,

had pushed north, a month before Bunker Hill, and captured the Canadian outpost of Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain 'in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress'. Later in the same year Montgomery and Arnold, the latter a very good soldier, failed to capture Quebec. Canada was well defended by its governor, Sir Guy Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester, and the French Canadian farmers of the St. Lawrence valley, though not enthusiastically in favour of British rule, much preferred it to the prospect of becoming an appendage of New England.

In March 1776 Washington occupied Dorchester Heights, overlooking Boston. Howe had succeeded Gage, and both of them had shown an amazing lack of military enterprise. They may have been bad soldiers or they may have thought that the less they did, the better were the chances that the politicians would arrive at a compromise agreeable to both sides and end a distasteful and unpopular war. As soon as Dorchester Heights were occupied Howe evacuated Boston and sailed out to sea. Washington moved his headquarters to New York. Thither in August, after some months in Nova Scotia, Howe came after him. Howe landed on Long Island and, displaying a degree of skill unusual with him, cut in two the American forces on the island, but fog and the assistance of fishing-boats enabled Washington to withdraw his men across the water into New York. Here Howe missed a great opportunity for with a little enterprise he could have penned Washington and his army in that city, thus reversing the situation that Washington had established against the British at Boston—with this vital difference that Howe, having sea power, could get away from Boston by sea whereas Washington would have been cut off on both elements. However the opportunity was not taken. Washington got away from New York, not entirely without mishaps, and Howe settled down comfortably in a city which contained a much larger proportion of loyalists than Boston.

Meanwhile Congress had passed, on July 4th, 1776, its famous Declaration of Independence. The upper class politicians who composed Congress had been reluctant to take this step. Many of them felt that the severance of the British connection would soon be followed by the overthrow of the rule of the class to which they themselves belonged. They had regarded the war as a civil war within the empire, and their own party as championing constitutional rights similar to those championed in England by

Pym and Hampden in the previous century. Two considerations now forced their hands. They were looking for support from France, and France would be much readier to help them if the prize of successful rebellion was to be not a reorganization of the British-American empire but its disruption, and the creation of a new state prepared to transfer to France, perhaps, the trading advantages previously enjoyed by Britain. Secondly the popular movement for independence had been sharply stimulated by the publication of Paine's *Common Sense*.

Tom Paine was an English professional rebel. Born of poor Quaker parents he ran away to sea; returned to land and earned his living by making ladies' corsets; studied astronomy; became successively an exciseman, a schoolmaster and a tobacconist; emigrated to America on the eve of the rebellion, and published his *Common Sense*, which proved a best seller. Though it seems dull enough to-day it really excited Americans with a passion to destroy British tyranny, lock, stock, and barrel. Later on he returned to England; praised the French Revolution in his *Rights of Man*; became a citizen of the French Republic and only missed the guillotine by an accident. In later years he rebelled against God also and published an effective and widely read attack on the Christian religion, entitled *The Age of Reason*. Returning to America long afterwards he found that his latest performance had obliterated the memory of his first, and he was, at the request of the other passengers, refused a seat on an American stage-coach lest an offended Deity should strike the coach with lightning.

The Declaration of Independence was composed by Thomas Jefferson, a Virginian of Welsh origin who was to play a very important part in American history for more than thirty years. At this time he was only thirty-three and he died on the fiftieth anniversary of what Americans still call Independence Day and celebrate as a national festival. The opening of the second paragraph of the document is deservedly famous:—

'We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute new government.'

Then follows a long list of the tyrannical actions of King George III, similar to the list of tyrannical actions of Charles I which the leaders of the Long Parliament had embodied in the Grand Remonstrance of 1641. The conclusion is then drawn:—

‘We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States.’

When Congress assented to the proposition that all men are created equal and are entitled to liberty etc., they did not mean to include their own negro slaves; they were not thinking about negroes but about themselves, and framing a ‘Law of Nature’ which would justify their rebellion. If they had lived a hundred years later they would have evoked ‘the principles of nationalism’ or something of the kind; for every age has its own jargon. It is sometimes said that Jefferson got his phraseology from the French *philosophes* who are regarded as forerunners of the French Revolution, but it is much more likely that he was borrowing, with improvements of his own, from John Locke, who had written an *Essay on Government* in justification of the English Revolution of 1689.

It was one thing to declare independence, another thing to secure it. Washington’s problem was not so much to win decisive victories—this he never did until the last year of the war, when he had a French army and a French fleet at his disposal—as to keep his army in existence at all. ‘The militia,’ he wrote, ‘come in you cannot tell how and go out you cannot tell when, consume your provisions, exhaust your stores, and leave you at last in a critical moment.’ There was some excuse for this. Congress was not empowered to raise taxes. For revenue they could only appeal to the states, and the revolutionists who quickly got control of most of the state governments regarded war taxation as inconsistent with ‘liberty’. Their favourite method of raising money was to confiscate the estates of wealthy loyalists, and as these estates were mostly sold to patriots at low prices, the funds realized were far from inexhaustible. Another method was the issue of paper money, a favourite device in the colonies from the beginning of the eighteenth century onward. The states issued paper money, and so did Congress, but it is well known to-day that the issue of paper money is a most delicate operation, and that if it is over-

issued it loses value. Congress notes were called 'continentals', and the phrase 'not worth a continental' long remained in the American vocabulary as a synonym for worthlessness.

So Washington's troops were often unpaid, except for worthless paper and promises of land out west after the war was over. They were never properly clothed and often without boots. They were inadequately fed, for farmers would not exchange their produce for continentals when they hoped to sell it to the British for hard cash. Also Congress inherited and exaggerated the old English dread of 'standing armies' as enemies of civil liberty. They sought to preserve the superiority of the civil power over the military by a system of short enlistments. Four months was regarded as the proper term of service, and a year as justifiable only in circumstances of extreme emergency. In order to keep the spirit of 'liberty' alive in the army it was decreed that offences against discipline could not be punished without the consent of the state to which the delinquent belonged.

Of course, if the movement for American independence had been one of the flamingly heroic national movements of history Washington would have secured, in spite of these absurdities, an army sufficient to sweep the small British forces with their inefficient commanders off the face of America in a few months. But it was not so. The traditional calculation is that, of the white population of the states, now about two million, one-third were Loyalists, one-third indifferent, and one-third American patriots. That gives a patriot population of 700,000, and it is an accepted axiom that a country which is in earnest can put one-tenth of its population into the field—which gives 70,000. Washington never had more than about 10,000 men under arms at any one time.*

These facts help to explain why the War of American Independence, regarded as a military event, is one of the least interesting in history. On both sides were small and inefficient forces, wandering about over a large and mainly roadless country, suffering more from the rigours of nature and from the inefficiencies of their own organizations than from the blows they contrived from time to time to deal each other.

The British failure to use their sea power is most surprising.

* Another calculation, comparing the American war with the South African war of 1899-1902, concludes that one in seven of the South African Dutch fought against Britain, but only one in twenty-five of the Americans—excluding the Loyalist third of the population.

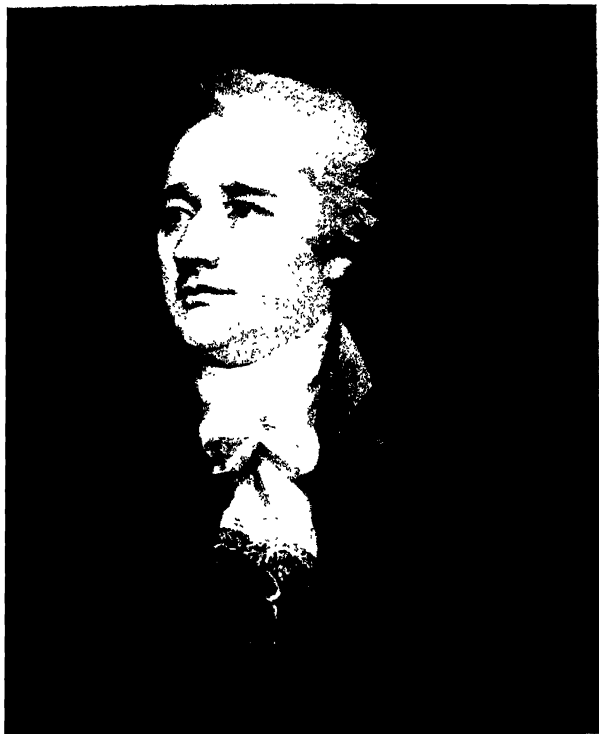
Intercommunication between the colonies was still mainly by sea. Good American judges said at the time that an efficient British blockade could have throttled the rebellion in its early stages. The Americans had no navy, but their privateers, especially the famous Paul Jones, did an immense amount of damage in a warfare equivalent to what in 1941 we called 'the battle of the Atlantic'. London shipping insurance rates rose to twenty-five per cent of the value of the ship and cargo. If these rates were fair ones—very likely they were not—they imply that nearly one quarter of the British merchantmen on voyage failed to return, which was the rate of loss prevailing for one month only in the worst period of the U-boat offensive of 1917.

We left Howe comfortably established in New York and Washington very uncomfortably encamped outside it in the late autumn of 1776. The outlook was most unpromising. Half Washington's army were due for disbandment on New Year's Day 1777, but he induced most of them to remain by pledging his own private fortune for their pay. At dawn on the day following Christmas Day he made an attack at Trenton on a body of Hessian (German) mercenaries, whom the British government had hired to fight their battles.* Most of the Hessians, including their German commander, had gone to bed drunk after their Christmas festivities and Washington captured 900 of them at the cost of five casualties to his own troops. A week later he made another surprise attack on some British troops at Princeton. Trenton and Princeton were small affairs but their moral effect in America was out of all proportion to their military dimensions. They proved, what many were doubting after the fiasco at New York, that the American cause was, after twenty months of war, still very much alive.

In 1777 the British planned an invasion from Canada by way of the Hudson valley and entrusted it to Burgoyne, a soldier who had made more mark in the world of London politics and fashion than in the army. Howe should have marched north and joined him, but he had received confusing and contradictory instructions; he preferred a plan of his own, which was to make his way by sea round to Philadelphia and to capture the rebel capital.

Thither he came, with a leisureliness surprising even in Sir William Howe, defeated Washington at Brandywine, and entered

* These Hessians proved a bad speculation. Their presence annoyed Americans and stimulated the patriotic cause, and most of them deserted, took jobs on American farms and became American citizens.



PLATE

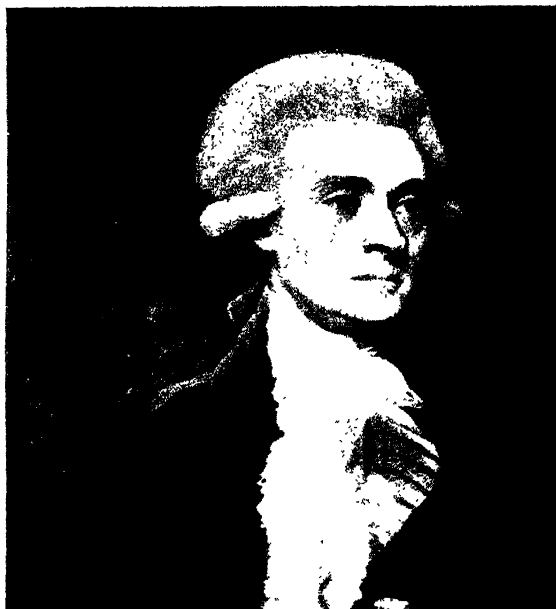
ALEXANDER H
(1757-1804)

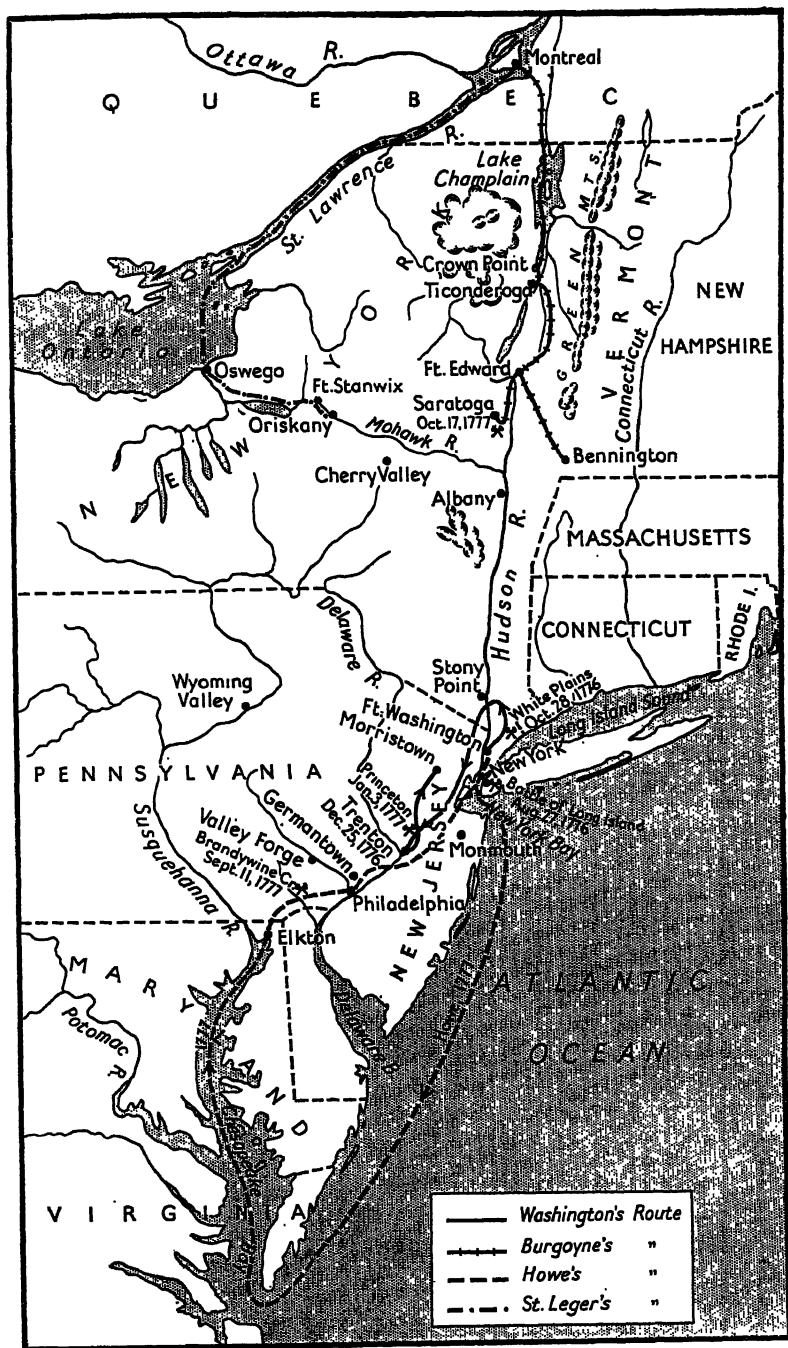
One of the
theoreticians
American revolution
was Secretary of
Treasury in Wash-
ton's first cabinet.
Washington's chief
adviser until his death.
Hamilton founded
Federalist party.

University Art Gallery

THOMAS JEFFERSON
(1743-1826)

He drafted the Decla-
ration of Independence,
Ambassador to France,
Secretary of State,
and in Washington's
cabinet, and the first
President of the United
States. He founded the Democratic
Party.





EARLY CAMPAIGNS IN THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Philadelphia amid the enthusiastic applause of the Quaker aristocracy. Congress had already withdrawn to a safe distance. Washington had managed things badly at Brandywine and owed the survival of his army to the gentleness of his opponent. He tried to retrieve his fortunes by attacking Howe's outposts at Germantown and his army was again defeated and again allowed to survive. He settled down to spend a winter of hardship at Valley Forge. There was little to eat but plenty of drill, for a German professional, Baron Steuben, had arrived and devoted himself to this aspect of military life with Teutonic thoroughness. Washington had little reason for admiring regular armies from what he had seen of them, but he believed in drill as firmly as any British regular; for drill meant discipline, and discipline was what his army most lacked.

The Pennsylvanian campaign of 1777 was thus entirely without positive result. Very different were the fortunes in the north. Advancing southwards from Montreal along the Champlain valley Burgoyne captured Ticonderoga, but his food supplies began to run short and he sent a force of a thousand men, largely German and Indian, to seize some stores at Bennington in Vermont. It was surrounded and captured by the local population, and the success roused to activity the militia of New England to the number of about 20,000, a very large force by the standards of this war. Burgoyne was brought to a standstill. He expected support from St. Leger who was to have advanced from Oswego on Lake Ontario along the Mohawk valley, but St. Leger had been defeated by Arnold at Oriskany. He expected still more support from Howe, advancing from New York up the Hudson, but Howe had chosen to go in the opposite direction, as we have seen. Burgoyne tried to push on, tried to retreat, but he was surrounded and had to surrender at Saratoga on October 17th.

When George III heard the news of Saratoga he declared that he 'would sell Hanover and all his private estate before he would desert the cause of his loyal American subjects'. His prime minister, Lord North, on the other hand thought that 'the sooner Britain was out of this damned war the better'. Probably Howe agreed with North.

Saratoga was the first American success on a large scale and it was inevitable that many should contrast the victory in the north with the defeats in the south and draw conclusions unfavourable to Washington. The nominal victor of Saratoga—for he seems to

have owed his success entirely to his subordinates, especially Schuyler and Arnold—was an English adventurer of little ability or character named Gates. The movement to remove Washington from his command in favour of 'the hero of Saratoga' was called the Conway cabal, an Irishman named Conway being at the centre of the intrigue. It received the support of many members of Congress who afterwards did their best to destroy the evidence of their association with it. It failed because Gates and Conway quickly discredited themselves with their own supporters.

THE WAR—AFTER SARATOGA 1778-83

Saratoga proved the decisive event of the war because it decided the policy of France. French unofficial aid had already taken the form of munitions and volunteers. From the outbreak of the war onwards French supplies—gunpowder, shot and shell, muskets and clothing—had been shipped across, largely through the agency of Beaumarchais, author of *Le Mariage de Figaro*, out of which Mozart made an opera. Among the volunteers the most notable was a very wealthy young nobleman of nineteen, Lafayette, subsequently a rather ineffective 'hero' of the French Revolution in its early stages. Lafayette served on Washington's staff and quickly came to regard him as the finest extant specimen of the human race, an opinion from which he never wavered in the sixty years of life that lay ahead of him. Washington, usually so cold and impersonal, loved Lafayette as if he had been his own son. In America the young Frenchman enjoyed a long remembered popularity.*

After Saratoga Vergennes, foreign minister of the young King Louis XVI, decided to make France an active belligerent, in spite of the very shaky condition of French finances. His motive was certainly not enthusiasm for American liberties, nor was it a desire to recover Canada. He felt that the prestige of the French monarchy, badly damaged by the Seven Years War, must be restored by another duel with Britain, and that the American rebellion furnished him with a favourable opportunity. But it was one thing to declare war on Britain, another thing to get a

* When Lafayette revisited America in 1824 he was everywhere received with public demonstrations of enthusiasm. One American writer pleasingly explains Washington's delight in Lafayette's society by saying: 'Washington knew a gentleman when he saw one, and he hadn't seen one for a long time.'

French fleet and army past the British navy and into active co-operation with the Americans. This was not achieved till 1781. The years 1778-80 proved the dullest and least eventful of the war. We will return to them after dealing with other developments that were going on at the same time.

During the years of the quarrel and the war with Britain the American pioneers became really active for the first time beyond the Appalachians, for the Proclamation of 1763 was ignored from the first. Daniel Boone began the opening up of Kentucky, the westward extension of Virginia, and James Robertson did the same for Tennessee, the westward extension of North Carolina. In 1778, George Rogers Clark made his way with a small party of adventurers down the Ohio to its junction with the Mississippi and then some distance up the latter river. Then he struck inland and overwhelmed a small British outpost at Vincennes in what, many years afterwards, became the state of Indiana. At the same time as the colonists were liberating themselves from the British connection they were beginning to enter upon the immense task of colonizing the 'Middle West'. That would provide problems to trouble their children and grandchildren in the nineteenth century.

An American writer has described the War of Independence as a by-product of the American revolution. He means that the main energies of the American people during these years did not go into the war against Britain—hence the feebleness of Washington's army—but into the social and political transformation of their own states. The depreciation of the currency by the reckless issue of paper money was in itself a social revolution for it reduced to trifling proportions the debts of the debtor class of poor farmers and the securities of the wealthy. The pillaging of the Loyalists extinguished a considerable section of the aristocracy. In each state new constitutions replaced the old colonial constitutions. The right to vote at elections was extended, though not as much as might have been expected in a community whose Congress had just declared that all men were created equal. What was more important was that the electoral divisions in each state were re-arranged so as to give the poor up-country settlers a fair share of representation in the legislatures. State governors were henceforth elected by state legislatures and held office for brief periods only. Where established churches existed they were abolished.

The lead in these measures in Massachusetts was taken by

John Adams. More remarkable was the work of Thomas Jefferson in remodelling the institutions of aristocratic Virginia. The son of a not very wealthy farmer in up-country Virginia, and all his life keenly interested in the problems of the land, Jefferson was a man of remarkably varied attainments. He was an omnivorous reader, proficient in several foreign languages, a good mathematician and a tolerable performer on the violin. He wanted America to be not only a democracy but an educated democracy, and the provision of schools and colleges was one of his principal interests. After the passing of the Declaration of Independence he left Congress and returned to the legislature of his own state, because he considered that he had more important work to do there. A pacifist by temperament, he supported the war, but preferred to leave the conduct of it to others. His purpose in Virginia was to 'form a system by which every trace would be eradicated of ancient or future aristocracy and a foundation laid for a government truly republican'. He secured a drastic reform of the laws of inheritance, designed to break up the big estates and replace them by small farms. In old age, looking back on a very long and distinguished career which included the authorship of the Declaration of Independence and an eight years' presidency of the United States, he regarded these years in the Virginia assembly as the most useful period of his life.

But what was needed for the effective prosecution of the war was not democracy but unity. As soon as the Declaration of Independence was signed Congress devoted itself, in a somewhat leisurely manner, to schemes for defining its authority. Unfortunately every increase in the authority of Congress meant a diminution in the independence of the various states, and as every member of Congress was also a delegate of a state extremely jealous of its independence, the difficulties involved were very great. In 1777, 'Articles of Confederation' were agreed upon in Congress, for submission to the states. Here trouble began at once. Some states had, as it were, open back doors and had staked out large claims on the territory beyond the mountains. A map of these claims shows, for example, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia extending to the Mississippi, and Massachusetts claiming a territory round Lake Michigan which included the site of Chicago. Other states, such as Maryland, had no such claims. Maryland refused to assent to the Articles of Confederation unless all the states surrendered to the Confederacy their claims to western lands. This principle was accepted; the states,

one by one and with natural reluctance, surrendered their territorial claims, and the Articles of Confederation came into force at last—in 1781, when the war was practically over.

The Articles of Confederation were so weak that their terms can be disregarded, but the surrender of the western claims of the states to a common authority had an importance which cannot be exaggerated. It laid the foundation not only of the subsequent Union but of the principle which henceforth guided, on its political side, the colonization of a domain which ultimately extended to the Pacific. Here were lands, 'Territories' as they came to be called, which did not belong to any one of the states but belonged to them all jointly. Out of these territories new states, equal in status with the old states, would in due course be formed.

We left the war at the end of 1777 with Howe in Philadelphia and Washington at Valley Forge. Howe had 20,000 men and Washington sometimes barely 5,000. Why Howe made no attempt to destroy Washington's army is a mystery. Some think that he was, like many English politicians at home, in sympathy with the American cause. Anyhow he had, intentionally or not, rendered that cause services such as very few generals have rendered to the cause they were fighting against. In 1778 he was recalled, and succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton.*

In the same year the French sent over an expedition under D'Estaing, which proved a complete failure, and soon removed itself to the West Indies. Clinton moved back from Philadelphia to New York, fighting a confused and indecisive battle with Washington on the way, at Monmouth. After this, the war languished for two years, becoming in the main an American civil war, for the principal incidents were savage local contests between patriots and loyalists.

The outstanding event of this period was the treason of Benedict Arnold. Arnold was one of the best of the American generals, but he was a restlessly ambitious man and he conceived that he had grievances against Congress—as indeed had every soldier in the American army from Washington downwards. Whatever his

* Howe and Washington frequently corresponded on such subjects as exchange of prisoners. Washington's last letter to Howe runs as follows: 'General Washington's compliments to General Howe—does himself the pleasure to return to him a dog which accidentally fell into his hands and, by the inscription on the collar, appears to belong to General Howe.'

precise motives may have been, he entered into correspondence with Clinton, arranging to betray to him the important position of West Point, in the Hudson valley between New York and Albany. Major André of the British army, who acted as messenger between Arnold and Clinton, was captured and hanged as a spy. Arnold made good his escape and became an officer in the British army.

In 1780 Clinton conceived a plan of reconquering the colonies from the southern end. He transferred himself by sea to South Carolina and occupied Charleston, afterwards returning to New York and leaving the southern campaign in charge of Cornwallis, a good soldier and a fine type of man who afterwards succeeded Warren Hastings as Governor-General in India. Cornwallis, moving northwards, defeated Gates, the Saratoga hero, at Camden, and afterwards fought some well-contested battles with Greene, at Cowpens and Guildford Court House. Greene, the son of a Rhode Island blacksmith, was probably the best of Washington's officers.

A French army under Rochambeau had reached America before the end of 1780, but 1781 opened in the deepest gloom. Serious mutinies, due to the fact that some troops had been paid in hard cash while most had been paid in paper money, broke out in two of the four main contingents of the army. Washington's letters show that he quite expected the year then opening to seal the doom of the rebellion; and it is curious to reflect that, had it done so, he might quite conceivably have ended his life on the scaffold under the British law of treason.

Then quite suddenly everything came out right for America. The British navy mismanaged its affairs and a French fleet under de Grasse, bringing with it 3,000 more French troops, reached the coast of Virginia. Cornwallis, based on a coast which had always hitherto been in contact with British sea power, found himself cut off on the seaward side in Yorktown. Washington wanted to attack New York, but Rochambeau persuaded him to march south and co-operate with the French fleet. Cornwallis, hemmed in by sea and by land, surrendered on October 17th, 1781, the fourth anniversary of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga.

Just as the British with but little colonial assistance had destroyed the French empire in Canada in 1759 so now, twenty-two years later, it was the French who destroyed the British empire further south. The whole of the fleet and three-quarters of the troops, as well as the whole of the plan of campaign which

ended at Yorktown, had been French. That does not alter the fact that but for Washington there would in all probability have been no French alliance in 1778 and no French victory in 1781.

When Lord North received the news he exclaimed, 'My God, all is over,' and resigned office. The Whigs, who replaced him, were ready to grant American independence. France, badly defeated by Rodney in the West Indies, was not inclined to prolong the war. Spain, who had also entered the war and was failing to capture Gibraltar, was of the same mind. The situation was ripe for the peace conference, which met at Paris.

Franklin had been in Paris since 1777 as the representative of Congress. Romantic sentiment, popularized by Rousseau, was extremely prevalent in Parisian society and Franklin was lionized not only as a great scientist but as a specimen of Man in a State of Nature; for the French aristocracy cherished fanciful notions about life in America. He had skilfully played up to this surprising role, and had undoubtedly helped to secure the French alliance. To him were now added John Adams and John Jay as the representatives of America at the peace conference.

First came the question of the frontiers of the Confederacy. The Americans put in a bid for Canada but it was not pressed. However, they secured the great triangle of land between the lakes, the Mississippi and the Ohio, which had been annexed to Canada by the Quebec Act of 1774. The northern frontier was to be in fact what it is to-day, as far as the Lake of the Woods some hundred miles beyond Lake Superior. On the west, the frontier was the Mississippi, to within a hundred miles of its mouth. Florida, taken from Spain in 1763, was now restored to her, and this carried with it a narrow strip of land along the Gulf of Mexico, extending from modern Florida to the Mississippi. Great Britain agreed that Americans should continue to enjoy their colonial privileges as regarded the Nova Scotia and Newfoundland fisheries, but refused to give them their former privileged position in trade with the British West Indies.

When it came to defining American obligations the delegates were in a difficulty, for there was no American government with sovereign authority to undertake such obligations. Congress however promised to secure the payment by Americans of their pre-war debts to British creditors, and to recommend the thirteen states to make compensation to the Loyalists for the damage they had suffered. There was small likelihood that these terms would be honoured by the thirteen states.

The Union 1783-89

FROM CHAOS TO UNION

WHEN peace had been made John Adams was sent to London as the first American ambassador to Britain. In London an Englishman remarked to him that there ought to be not one American ambassador but thirteen, since there were thirteen independent American states. The implied criticism was perfectly sound. The Second Continental Congress claimed to be, under the Articles of Confederation (1781), the governing body of the 'United States';—the phrase is actually used in the Declaration of Independence. But the states were not united and Congress was not a government. The sovereignty which had departed from King George III had become thirteen sovereignties, and resided in the governments of the thirteen states. This fact was explicitly stated in the Articles of Confederation, wherein each state was recognized as retaining 'sovereignty, freedom and independence'. Congress had, no doubt, considerable influence but, as Washington himself said, 'influence is not government'. Anyhow the war was now over, and the need to respect the 'influence' of Congress was no longer so obvious. What Washington called (in an unguarded moment, no doubt) 'this pernicious state system', could now flourish unchecked. In the present chapter we have first to illustrate the disunity of the states in the years immediately following the achievement of independence; and then to trace the movement which led, much more quickly than might have been expected, to the acceptance of union under the famous constitution which has stood the test of time and still provides the framework of American government.

The first necessity was to get rid of Washington's victorious, and therefore now useless, army. The feelings of Congress and state politicians towards the soldiers were much the same as the feelings of the Long Parliament towards Cromwell's army after the defeat of Charles I—less gratitude than fear. Congress was in arrears with army pay to the extent of £5,000,000 and there was the further question of gratuities and pensions on demobilization.

When the Long Parliament refused to satisfy the just claims of its army, Cromwell carried through a military revolution and became dictator. Certain American officers approached Washington with proposals of this kind, but he rejected them 'with a mixture of surprise and astonishment'. He resisted what must be the strongest temptation for a soldier in times of revolution: he refused to sacrifice liberty for the sake of efficiency. The result is that, whereas Cromwell's government proved a 'no-thoroughfare' experiment, Washington's name heads the long list of presidents of what has become the greatest democratic society in the world.

The army was huddled off the stage, on not altogether inadequate terms. Washington took formal leave of his officers in December 1783, and returned to private life as a Virginian landowner.

Much distress and disorder prevailed in the states after the War of Independence. Post-war times are proverbially hard, and there was no central government to give a strong lead in dealing with the problems that arose. Each state went its own way, often helping itself at the expense of its neighbours. Imports greatly exceeded exports and money was drained out of the country. Indeed the money problems were the most difficult of all. There was as yet no American currency, but the coins of every European country were in circulation; also a variety of different kinds of recently issued paper money. Even more remarkable than the variety of the money was the scarcity of it. The farmers of Massachusetts demanded that horses and cows should be made 'legal tender' for the payment of debts and taxes. Apart from particular post-war causes of distress there had been a spirit of revolution abroad for the previous twenty years. Hitherto it had been very conveniently directed against Britain. Now British control was gone and things were worse than ever, so that the spirit of revolution directed itself against the governing and possessing classes among the Americans themselves.

The best known of the various revolutionary explosions of these years was Shays' rebellion (1786) in Massachusetts. Shays was an ex-soldier and his programme was what we should to-day call communism. He held that as the property of the United States had been protected from confiscation by Britain through the joint exertion of all Americans, it ought now to be the common property of all. Shays' forces, over a thousand in number, were defeated, but there was so much public sympathy on their side that the ring-leaders were all pardoned by the notorious John Hancock, now governor of Massachusetts. But the propertied

classes were thoroughly alarmed. As General Knox wrote to Washington:—‘This dreadful situation, for which our government have made no adequate provision, has alarmed every man of principle and property in New England. They start as from a dream, and ask what is to give us security against the violence of lawless men. Our government must be braced, changed and altered to secure our lives and property.’

General Knox was demanding a real American government, a union, and the movement towards union, soon to be described, was in a very real sense a *counter*-revolution, a move in the opposite direction from the ‘American revolution’ which had taken the colonies out of the British Empire. It was a movement led by conservatives, and designed to protect the security of property. Washington played a leading part in both the revolution and the movement towards union, but he had never shared the ideas of the political agitators of the Stamp Act and Boston tea-party days. He wanted an independent and united America, ruled by men of his own class. The agitators of earlier days, Sam Adams and Patrick Henry and the like, opposed the union movement and condemned its results. When confronted with the American constitution old Sam Adams said that he saw no sense in pulling down British tyranny only to set up an American tyranny in its place.

Thus state anarchy was one fact that made union necessary. But there were others. One was the quarrels of the states with each other; and another was the impotence of the United (or disunited) States in its efforts to deal with foreign countries.

To take first a few examples of inter-state bickerings. Market gardeners and chicken farmers in New York State objected that so many New Yorkers bought their vegetables and chickens from New Jersey across the river. So New York enacted a protective tariff on these articles when imported from ‘abroad’. There were not enough people in New Jersey to eat all their own vegetables and chickens, but New York had built a lighthouse on New Jersey soil and New Jersey proceeded to impose a substantial rent on it. Massachusetts imposed certain tariffs on British goods. Connecticut, next door, let the same goods in free, and nothing but a frontier garrison could have kept them from passing over the boundary into Massachusetts. Virginia and Maryland had a dispute as to which of them controlled the navigation of the Potomac river which ran between them. Connecticut and Pennsylvania disputed the ownership of the Wyoming valley,

and their citizens fought and killed each other off and on for ten years in pursuit of this quarrel.

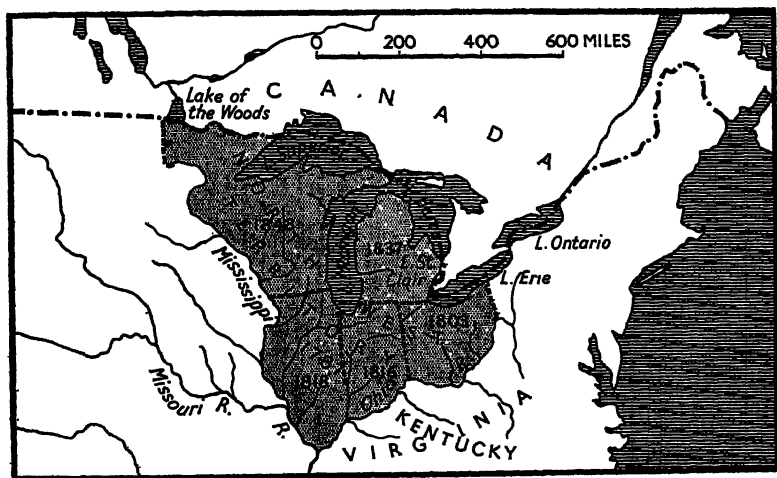
But what made union absolutely necessary was the fact that, until union was achieved, the states could have no normal relations with foreign countries. The obligations assumed by the American representatives in the treaty of Paris had never been carried out. No attempt was made by the states to enforce the payment of pre-war private debts of Americans to British subjects. There was no compensation paid to Loyalists; indeed those that remained were worse treated than ever. As a result 50,000 United Empire Loyalists made their way into territories then separate but long afterwards united in the Dominion of Canada:—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the northern shores of Lake Ontario. These laid the foundations of British, as distinct from French, colonization to the north of the United States. British politicians were already regretting their generosity in surrendering, by the treaty, the lands north of the Ohio which had been annexed to Canada by the Quebec Act, and the breaches of faith by the Americans gave Britain a very good excuse for retaining her garrisons in the 'frontier posts', as they were called south of the Great Lakes. There were also quarrels with Spain about the navigation of the Mississippi. At sea, the Barbary pirates of North Africa preyed on American commerce now that it was no longer under the protection of British gunboats.

The old pre-union Congress had, however, one great achievement to its credit. We had seen how, in 1781, the states with trans-Appalachian claims surrendered their claims to Congress. In 1787 a group of Bostonians under the leadership of General Putnam and the Rev. Manasseh Cutler (who seems to have been a very shrewd business man) organized a company to buy land beyond the Ohio and an expedition of ex-soldiers to clear it and settle it. Cutler went to Congress to negotiate the purchase, taking with him something Congress rarely saw, namely, ready money. The argument was not to be resisted, and to regulate the development of the estate Congress enacted the Northwest Territorial Ordinance of 1787. The Ordinance provided a temporary government for the territory through officials appointed by Congress. As soon as the settlers should number 5,000 a representative legislature should be elected, and the electors might send a delegate to Congress who, however, should have no vote in that body. Provision was made for the ultimate formation of five states out of the territory:—each of the five

sections of territory could petition Congress to be admitted to the union as a state, on a footing of complete equality with the original states, as soon as it had a population of 60,000, and in due course these five territories became States of the Union:—Ohio 1803, Indiana 1816, Illinois 1818, Michigan 1837, Wisconsin 1848. Slavery was to be for ever illegal in the territory and in the states to be formed out of it.

Thus the old Congress, on its death-bed as it were, established two fundamental principles. It established the political framework of American colonization, and it laid down the principle of 'free soil';—henceforth slavery, though still recognized as a legal institution in almost all the states, was made illegal in the new lands north of the Ohio. It was the first official recognition of slavery as an evil.

What constitutional right Congress possessed, or supposed it possessed, to enact this Ordinance is rather a mystery; but the legal problem was solved by the re-enactment of the Ordinance by the very different Congress which took shape under the constitution of the Union.



THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORY
Showing the states afterwards carved from it

The problem of western development was very largely a problem of transport. Hitherto American transport had been mainly a matter of rivers. In England at this very date rivers were beginning to be joined up by canals, and Washington, always interested in western development, had been travelling in

the Ohio country himself since he laid down his command, and had conceived a plan for a canal joining the Ohio and the Potomac, which would have the advantage of connecting up the west with his own state of Virginia. But first it was necessary to settle the stupid dispute between Virginia and Maryland about the control of the Potomac. A conference of delegates from the two states met to consider the matter as Washington's guests at Mount Vernon, but it was soon realized that Pennsylvania also was involved, and the question was raised—Why not invite delegates from all the states to discuss a variety of commercial questions? Invitations were issued to the states' legislatures to send delegates to a conference for this purpose at Annapolis. Only five states sent delegates to Annapolis, but the conference quickly realized (as some of its members had realized from the first) that nothing could be done unless more power was given to Congress. So the delegates at Annapolis (1786), taking their courage in both hands as it would seem, issued further invitations to the states to send delegates to a Convention for revising the Articles of Confederation, to meet at Philadelphia in May, 1787. To this Convention every state except Rhode Island sent delegates. It seems somewhat strange that this course of action should have been pursued outside and independent of the existing Congress, but so it was.

The Convention of Philadelphia sat for four months behind closed doors. No reports were published and the course of its proceedings was not made known to the world till 1840, when Madison's voluminous notes of the debates and resolutions were published. Washington took the chair, and Franklin, now over eighty, was one of the delegates of Pennsylvania; but the men who exercised most influence on the decisions of the Convention were Madison of Virginia, Wilson of Pennsylvania, and Gouverneur Morris of New York. Perhaps one should add the very distinguished name of Alexander Hamilton, of whom much more will be said in the next chapter.

What emerged from the Convention was not a revision of the Articles of Confederation but an entirely new constitution, which will be described in the following section.

The constitution could not become law until it was accepted by nine of the thirteen states, the number required for assent to any measure under the existing Articles of Confederation, and in many of the states the struggle was well contested. The democrats regarded the constitution as an anti-democratic move, and those who had played a leading part in making it quite

frankly admitted as much. The aim of the constitution, said Madison, was 'to secure private rights against majority factions'. Morris wanted 'an aristocratic body to keep down the turbulence of democracy'. The same fact was expressed from the opposite standpoint by a Massachusetts democrat who said:—'These lawyers and men of learning and moneyed men, that talk so finely and gloss over matters so smoothly to make us poor illiterate people swallow down the pill, expect to get into Congress themselves; they expect to be the managers of the constitution, and then they will swallow up all us little folk just as the whale swallowed up Jonah. That is what I am afraid of.' The grandson of John Adams, in the *Life* of his grandfather, written long afterwards, gave it as his opinion that the great majority of those who had been most active in the struggle for independence were opponents of the Union. In order to recommend the constitution to the states Hamilton, Madison and Jay wrote a series of articles afterwards collected in book form under the title of *The Federalist*.

By June, 1788, nine states had accepted the constitution and two more immediately followed. Elections were held in the autumn, and Washington, unanimously elected the first President of the United States, took office on March 4th, 1789. The United States, in the proper sense of the term, thereby began its career two months before the meeting of the Estates General at Versailles which opened the French Revolution. Two remaining states, Rhode Island, the smallest, and North Carolina, perhaps the most poverty-stricken and turbulent, did not accept the constitution until it had been some months in operation.

THE CONSTITUTION

The term 'constitution' in America means something entirely different from what it means in Britain. If you ask anyone 'what is the British constitution?' your victim can only reply by a discourse on British customs and traditions, and no two authorities would reply in quite the same terms. If, on the other hand, you ask 'what is the American constitution?' the answer is easy; it is a document which occupies ten pages at the end of this book. The British constitution is the growth of centuries. No one can say when it began, and it changes imperceptibly from generation to generation. It is not a document, nor a body of documents, and though it depends to some extent on law it depends much more on tradition. There is, for example, no law that the King

must assent to an Act of Parliament, yet it is undoubtedly now part of the constitution that he should do so. Take, for example, the office of prime minister, which is the keystone of the British constitution as it is to-day. When did prime ministers begin? 'With Walpole' is the conventional answer; but Walpole's position was very much like that of his immediate predecessors, such as Stanhope or Godolphin, and very unlike that of any twentieth-century prime minister. Again, Parliament can alter the British constitution by the same process as it employs to alter any trivial enactment such as the age at which children are entitled to leave school. By American standards the French writer was quite correct who said that there is *no* British constitution—*elle n'existe pas*.

The American Constitution, on the other hand, is a definite document, compiled at a particular time and place and coming into operation on a particular day. It is superior to the ordinary Congress-made law, and can only be altered by a complicated process. If one ignores ten amendments which were enacted almost at once as part of the conditions on which the states accepted it, we can say that it has been amended only eleven times in 150 years.

The Convention of Philadelphia could never have done its work unless there had been a large measure of agreement on essentials. None the less, there were also substantial differences, and all the main features of the Constitution represent compromises between rival schools of thought. There were two main groups of problems, the nature of the new central or Federal government and the division of authority between the Federal government and the states. We will take them in that order.

Americans were familiar, both in British tradition and in the constitutions of their own states, with the triple partnership of King, Lords and Commons; Governor, Council, Legislative Assembly. They copied this, using the titles President, Senate, and House of Representatives—commonly called 'the House', for short. The Senate and the House, taken together, form 'Congress'. The question arose, how were seats to be allocated in the Senate and the House? The small states naturally wanted each state to have the same number of seats; the large states, equally naturally, wanted seats to be distributed in proportion to population.* These rival views were embodied in the New

* For example, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, New Jersey and Delaware had together a population at this date of 450,000. This was about equal to that of Pennsylvania, less than that of Massachusetts, and only just over half that of Virginia.

Jersey plan (of the small states) and the Virginia plan (of the large states). Compromise: the Senate should consist of two members only from each state, elected by its assembly, whereas in the House each state should have a number of seats proportioned to its population. That is why to-day the Senate has been on the whole the stronghold of American conservatism. In the Senate obscure and remote states with small populations have as much voting power as the states which contain New York or Chicago.

Another question arose at this point; what about the states with large slave populations? Did slaves count as population for assessing the number of seats allotted to the state? Of course the slaves were not voters, but nor were large numbers of adult white men in all the states. Still, the unenfranchised white men were citizens and the slaves were not. Obviously the point could be argued to distraction. One northern delegate said, if South Carolina counted its slaves why should not his state count its horses? But what was wanted was a compromise acceptable to both sides. Result: states were allowed to count three-fifths of their slaves. Thus, if a state had 300,000 free men and 150,000 slaves, its population counted as 390,000, so far as allocation of seats in the House was concerned. It sounds absurd, but it worked for seventy years, until slavery was abolished.

Elections were to take place every two years, when the whole of the House and one-third of the Senate were to be elected. Senators thus held their seats for six years, retiring by thirds in rotation—a system since adopted for borough councils and urban district councils in England. Franchise: every state was to use in Congressional elections whatever franchise it already had to its own elections. Thus, at a much later date, some Congressmen* were elected by wholly male electorates, others by electorates of both sexes.

For the election of the president a very complicated system was devised. He was to be elected by an 'electoral college' consisting of delegates elected in each state, each state choosing a number of delegates equal to the number of its representatives in both Houses of Congress. (This, the reader may realize, was an ingenious compromise between the New Jersey plan, as applied to the

* i.e. members of the House of Representatives. This is the accepted meaning of 'Congressmen', though Congress strictly includes the Senate. Senators, as already mentioned, were elected by State legislatures, until an amendment in 1913 transferred the election of Senators from the legislatures to the electorates.

election of the Senate, and the Virginia plan as applied to the House.) It was assumed that the electoral college would, after discussion, proceed to choose between several men whom it had selected as candidates, by a free vote. If no one candidate secured a majority over all the other candidates taken together, the choice was to be remitted to the House of Representatives. This has happened only twice, in 1800 and in 1824. But the electoral college from the first proved a farce, for the candidates were chosen by party organizations *before* the election of the college, and the members of the college were pledged in advance to vote for a particular candidate. As soon as the college was elected its 'choice' was known; there was no need for it to meet.

The authors of the Constitution imagined that the work of the college would take a considerable time. They decreed that the college was to be elected in November, and that the new president should not take office till March 4th following. Actually, except in 1800 and 1824, the result was apparent as soon as the college was elected, and there followed an awkward gap of four months during which, to adapt the words of a well-known poem, the old president, though still in office, was 'dead' and the new one 'powerless to be born'. This interregnum proved disastrous in 1860-61, on the eve of the Civil War. In 1933, the twentieth amendment halved the duration of the interregnum, and the new president now comes into office on January 3rd.

What about the powers of the president? He is the 'chief executive'. He chooses his own ministers who, unlike British cabinet ministers, must *not* be members of the legislature (Congress) and must resign their seats in it if they hold such at the date of their appointment. The president's ministers are often spoken of collectively as 'the cabinet' but they do not form a cabinet in the British sense. They are not the collective authors of the government's policy but simply the heads of various departments, treasury, navy, etc.

The office of president combines, in a general way, the position of a British king and that of a British prime minister. He has more power than the British king for he can veto legislation, though it can be carried 'over his head' if passed by a two-thirds majority in both Houses of Congress. He has less control over legislation than a British prime minister because he is not himself a leader 'inside the House'. He has to watch Congressional treatment of his legislative proposals from outside. The president possesses the usual powers of a supreme executive (such as in England are

legally vested in the Crown and actually exercised by the cabinet), except in so far as they are limited by the Constitution. One limitation is that the dates of general elections are fixed; the president cannot dissolve Congress if it disagrees with him and appeal to the country against it. Also, though he can make treaties, such treaties do not become binding until they have been ratified by a two-thirds majority of the Senate. The Constitution says that the president shall make treaties 'with the advice and consent of the Senate'. Probably its authors intended that the president should use the Senate as a sort of advisory body during the process of treaty-making, and did not intend it to be, what it quickly became, an independent revising chamber with power to veto treaties the president had already made. In any case, the object was to prevent the Union being bound by secretly negotiated treaties, and that object is certainly achieved. The Senate has rejected many treaties negotiated by American presidents. For example, in 1920, after Wilson had signed the treaty of Versailles, the Senate rejected it, thus excluding America from the League of Nations which Wilson had played so decisive a part in establishing.

The candidate who secured the second largest number of nominations in the electoral college was to become vice-president. The vice-president acts as chairman of the Senate, but his main function is to replace the president if the latter dies or is completely incapacitated during his term of office. Six presidents in all have died during their term of office, three by assassination, but the first case did not occur till 1840.

So much for the character of the Federal government. The other main problem was the distribution of power between the Federal government and the states. Here there was a sharp difference of opinion between the delegates of the large and the small states. The New Jersey plan would have given the Federal government powers only a little larger than those enjoyed by the old Congress; such a union would certainly have proved a failure. The Virginia plan, on the other hand, created what political theorists call a unitary state, as contrasted with a federal state. It would have given Congress power to legislate on all subjects, and would have reduced the states to the position occupied by counties in Britain. This would never have secured acceptance from a majority of the states. A compromise was adopted. The Federal government was given entire control of everything pertaining to foreign policy, armies and navies, peace and war, and was

empowered to raise taxes for these purposes by indirect taxation, but not by income-tax; the right to levy an income-tax on all citizens of the Union was entrusted to Congress only long afterwards, by an amendment carried early in the twentieth century. The federal Government was given control of tariffs, but was not entitled to abolish the slave trade until twenty years after the establishment of the Union. When the twenty years expired Congress did in fact declare the importation of slaves illegal, in 1808, which by a curious coincidence was the very year in which a similar measure was applied to the British Empire.

The states thus retained (and retain) full and sovereign control of legislation on subjects of domestic policy. Each state makes its own education laws, its own marriage and divorce laws, its own laws regulating industry and social conditions, including slavery until slavery was abolished for the whole Union by an amendment to the Constitution in 1865. The states elect their own governors who occupy in each state a position similar to that of the president in the Union as a whole, and a successful term of office as a state governor has often in modern times proved a stepping-stone to the presidency.

There remained the problem of the amendment of the Constitution. An amendment has to be enacted not only by two-thirds majorities in each House of Congress, but also to be accepted by the legislatures of three-quarters of the states. The first ten amendments were carried almost at once and were in essentials part of the original Constitution, being demanded by various states as a condition of their accepting it. They have been called the American Bill of Rights, as they had somewhat the same character as the charter of personal liberties imposed, under that title, on William and Mary on their accession to the English throne after the revolution of 1688. The first of these amendments forbade Congress to establish any church, or to impose any limits on religious toleration or on the freedom of the press. Others dealt with the right to trial by jury and other traditional privileges of British subjects. An important amendment declared that any powers of government not specifically allocated to either the federal Government or to the states should be presumed to be retained by the states.

This last clause might seem to secure that though the Union might presumably grow weaker, it could not grow stronger. Actually the opposite has happened. The powers of the Union have continually increased at the expense of the states, for reasons

that will become plain in due course. The principal instrument by means of which the powers of the Union were increased was found in a clause of the Constitution establishing a Supreme Court of Federal Judicature. Few foresaw at the time that this Supreme Court would become the umpire for the interpretation of disputed points under the Constitution, and that, being itself a Federal body, its bias would be in favour of the Federal government against state rights.

There remained the question whether, having voluntarily joined the Union, each state retained the right to withdraw from it. On this point the text of the Constitution observed a discreet silence, but there can be little doubt that, when they joined the Union, the states assumed that they would retain the freedom to undo what they were now freely doing. The question was often raised in the course of the next seventy years until, in 1860-61, the southern states exercised their 'right' to secede. The Federal government under Lincoln's leadership proclaimed that they had no such right and set to work to reconquer them, and the result was the greatest civil war in history.

Such was the American Constitution. Not only has it survived to the present day, but it early secured and has retained the respect, amounting to veneration, of the vast majority of those who have lived under its rule. A Scotsman named McKay, who visited the States in 1846, remarked the peculiar fact, as it seemed to him, that American patriotism expressed itself so largely as pride in American political institutions. With some nations, he says, national pride is mainly geographical and expresses itself in love of the mountains and rivers of the homeland; with others it is historical and expresses itself in the glorification of famous military heroes and their victories. The American, on the other hand, is proud of his 'documents of freedom', the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and the great experiment in liberty and democracy of which they are the foundation and the symbol. There can be no doubt that the Constitution has deserved the respect that has been accorded to it. Not only did it prove a success but it was, among constitutions, quite definitely a new invention. There had been federal states in the world before, for example the United Provinces of the Dutch Netherlands in the seventeenth century, but the Dutch constitution had proved a clumsy failure because, while the federal government could make laws and levy taxes, it entirely depended on the governments of the seven provinces whether the laws were

enforced or the taxes levied. The authors of the American Constitution were the first to hit upon a workable scheme which, while retaining the local independence of the states in local affairs, secured an efficient authority for the Federal government.

The Rule of the Federalists 1789-1801

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

It was with great and genuine reluctance that Washington accepted the burden of the presidency. He knew he was no politician, and what he had seen of Congress politics during his command of the army did not attract him. But, since he always put duty first, he had really no choice. He enjoyed a prestige, both at home and abroad, such as no other American even distantly approached; and prestige was what the new experiment in union needed more than anything else. As first president of the United States Washington started, as it were, 'from scratch'. When he took office there was no civil service, no revenue, no tradition—nothing but a much discussed and criticized 'scrap of paper'. His task was comparable with that of none of his successors, nor with that of any British prime minister.

The American presidency combines, it has been said, the functions of the British king and the British prime minister. In the discharge of his 'royal' duties Washington was above all things stately, both by temperament and by policy. He was no 'glad-hander'. His official receptions were as stiff and formal as those of Queen Victoria. There was some discussion whether he should be officially entitled 'His Excellency' or even 'His Majesty'. This idea was dropped, but his wife was entitled 'Lady Washington'. Twice during his period of office he laboriously toured the whole length of the States, holding receptions in every state capital.

What was needed above all things in Washington's judgment was unity—a unity which subordinated not only state selfishness but also party politics to national patriotism. Like the Duke of Wellington a generation later, Washington probably thought of statesmanship in military terms. A general selects the best men available for his staff and expects them to support the plan of campaign agreed upon, even though some of them may think an alternative plan more likely to secure victory. In this spirit Washington selected the best men available for his cabinet and expected them to work together whatever their previous

differences of opinion. As Secretary of State (i.e. Foreign Secretary), he appointed Jefferson; as Secretary to the Treasury (what we call Chancellor of the Exchequer), he appointed Alexander Hamilton. These two men became in the course of a very few years the leaders of the two political parties which divided the allegiance of the American people. More than that, they have ever since been rightly regarded as the first and in some ways the greatest exponents of the two rival conceptions of statesmanship which have struggled for mastery in American history. They deserve careful study.

Alexander Hamilton, only thirty-two years old at this time, handsome, charming, brilliantly gifted with brains and almost alarmingly self-confident, was the illegitimate son of an English West Indian planter and a French mother, and born in the West Indies. Coming to King's College, New York, to complete his education, he joined Washington's army when scarcely more than a boy, and soon became his military secretary, in which post his gifts proved of priceless value. He had played a conspicuous part in the movement which, starting from the Mount Vernon Conference, led to the making of the Constitution. He had, in fact, as a delegate of New York at the Annapolis Conference, proposed and drafted the invitation to the states to send delegates to the constitution-making Convention of Philadelphia. He cannot be regarded as one of the authors of the Constitution, because what he wanted was a far more complete subordination of the states to the Federal government. Not being by birth a citizen of any of the states he was, unlike all other Americans of his day, entirely devoid of state sentiment and state loyalty. By profession he was a lawyer, and—more important perhaps—he had married into one of the wealthiest commercial families of New York.

Hamilton regarded the old unreformed British constitution of his day as the best government in the world. The British, it is true, had a parliament, but a parliament rendered wise and safe by a system of rotten boroughs which placed control in the hands of the rich. He believed that, in general, the rich deserved their riches and the poor their poverty, and that only the rich were capable of political intelligence and responsibility. He ridiculed the idea expressed in the phrase *vox populi vox Dei*. 'Your people', he once said, 'is a great beast.' In so saying he was quoting the Greek philosopher Plato, still commonly accounted one of the wisest of men, but his audience did not recognize the quotation, and may have thought the remark more insulting than it was

meant to be. Hamilton's policy was to make the United States a centralized and prosperous organization, soundly based on the support of, and controlled by, what we should to-day call big business interests, though of course the biggest businesses of those days were but small by modern standards.

Jefferson's policy is much more difficult to define, partly because he was much less clear about it himself. Hamilton was one of the most ruthlessly clear-headed of statesmen, but Jefferson was an idealist and a phrase-maker, and with him phrases often took the place of thought. He had played no part in the making of the Constitution, being at the time American ambassador to France. He stayed in France long enough to witness the opening stages of the French Revolution, and he returned to America full of enthusiasm for that movement. 'Liberty and Equality' were very much after Jefferson's heart. He believed in the essential soundness of the common man and desired a democratic franchise, though he probably assumed that 'the people' would accept the leadership of men of property and education like himself. He disliked the idea of strong government, and considered that the more people were left to themselves the better; indeed, he was as far from being a socialist or communist as Hamilton himself. When he heard of Shays' rebellion he remarked that it was probably a good thing for liberty to have a rebellion about once in twenty years.

But the most fundamental feature of Jefferson's thought was his distrust of industry and commerce, especially overseas trade, as contrasted with the agricultural way of life, his championship of the country against the town. In this connexion it is important to remember the essential townlessness of the States at this date. The population in 1800 was five million, almost exactly that of Australia a hundred years later. But whereas half the population of Australia was concentrated in three great cities, two of them with a million inhabitants each, in the United States of 1800 the two largest towns were Philadelphia (70,000) and New York (60,000). No other town had as many as 30,000, and only three, Boston, Baltimore and Charleston, reached 20,000. And if this townlessness was characteristic of America as a whole it was pre-eminently so of Jefferson's own state, Virginia, the most populous of the states with nearly a million inhabitants but only two little towns with as many as 6,000 inhabitants. Virginia with its long tidal creeks did not need urban centres. The plantations stood along the creeks, and each plantation was as nearly as possible

self-supporting, producing its food and drink for home consumption as well as its tobacco for export. Agricultural society, democratic in form and unhampered by central control, was the Jeffersonian ideal for the New World, and he wanted that World to be something better than anything Europe could offer. He stood for state rights against a strong Union because he believed that the virtual independence of each state was the best safeguard against the predominance of great centres of population.

Washington was, like Jefferson, a Virginian country gentleman, but, unlike Jefferson, he was no idealist or dreamer of dreams, and no believer in democracy. His views were limited and practical, and as such he leant more and more to the side of Hamilton, for it was Hamilton and not Jefferson whose measures, in the next few years, set the infant Union on its legs and started it walking confidently forward to meet the nineteenth century.* These measures concerned the debts, the bank, and the tariff.

Though the Union started without assets or revenue it inherited the debts of the preceding epoch. These debts were of three kinds. There were the debts incurred by the old Congress to foreign, mainly French, creditors—about £2,500,000; debts owed by Congress to American creditors—about £10,000,000; and the loans raised by the various states—in all about £6,000,000. The figures seem small to-day but they did not appear to be so at the time. Hamilton proposed to pay the first in full, to fund the second by the issue of new bonds, redeeming the old bonds at par in spite of the fact that they had depreciated to little more than a tenth of their value, and to assume full responsibility for the state debts.

No objection was raised to the policy of repaying the foreign debt, but when Hamilton proposed to pay for the bonds held by domestic creditors at their paper value it was pointed out that these bonds had changed hands again and again, and that the policy would put a lot of money into the pockets of people who were not morally entitled to it. It was also asserted that, as soon as Hamilton's policy had become known in political and business circles, a number of sharp business men had toured the country buying the bonds up at low prices from unsuspecting holders. Hamilton was on intimate terms with the leading financial mag-

* The other members of Washington's small cabinet were General Knox, a New Englander, whose views have already been quoted, and Randolph, another Virginian. Knox became in due course a Hamiltonian and Randolph a Jeffersonian.

nates, and though he was personally honest (as is proved by the fact that he retired from public life a poor man) many of his friends were not above suspicion. But Hamilton was not concerned to preserve simple-minded folk from the results of their simplicity; he was concerned with the financial reputation of the government. Washington supported him, and Jefferson opposed him; his Policy was carried.

The question of the federal assumption of the state debts produced an exhibition of state selfishness. Some states, such as Massachusetts and South Carolina, had large debts; others had small debts or, like Virginia and Pennsylvania, had paid them off with grants of land in their western territories. The latter group of states naturally opposed Federal assumption. At this point Hamilton managed to do an ingenious deal with his opponents. At this time the seat of government was in New York, but the question of a new Federal capital was already being discussed and Jefferson wanted it to be located on the river Potomac, in his own Virginia. Hamilton undertook to support the Potomac scheme, and Jefferson to secure Virginian support for Hamilton's debt policy. Similarly, Pennsylvania was squared by an undertaking that the seat of government should be shifted to Philadelphia until the new capital was founded. So the Federal government assumed the state debts, and the planning of the new city, ultimately called Washington, was begun. It was ready for occupation, in a somewhat raw and incomplete condition, in 1801. In order that it might not be technically in the territory of any state, a square of territory round it was carved out of Virginia and Maryland and entitled the District of Columbia.

How the money was raised to carry through Hamilton's debt policy we shall not attempt to describe in detail. The policy itself created financial confidence; confidence is credit, and credit can be turned into cash. Hamilton was one of the wizards of finance.

Like the English ministers of William III almost exactly a hundred years earlier, Hamilton followed up his funding of the American national debt with a proposal to establish a Federal bank, on the lines of the Bank of England. He knew how much these English institutions had done to bind together the wealthy classes in support of the English Revolution settlement and he confidently expected the same results from similar measures in America. He held that in politics economic interest counted for more than ideals. Jefferson opposed this part of Hamilton's policy, and asserted that it involved a breach of the Constitution,

which certainly does not empower the Federal government to establish a bank. Hamilton took the line that, since the Constitution entrusted the financial affairs of the Union to the Federal government, it must be held to empower the Federal government to take whatever measures, not explicitly forbidden, it found necessary for the discharge of this duty; that the Federal government possessed, under the Constitution, not only the 'enumerated powers' but also 'implied powers' arising out of these. Washington decided in favour of Hamilton and the bank was established.

Hamilton's doctrine might seem to be inconsistent with the Tenth Amendment, declaring that all powers not specifically annexed to the Union were retained by the several states. None the less, every American government faced with unforeseen emergencies (and not least that of Jefferson when he became president) have followed in Hamilton's footsteps and claimed the right to a 'liberal construction' of the Constitution. Opposition parties have likewise reinforced their arguments by appeals to a 'strict construction' of the document.

American ministers are not members of either House of Congress, and Hamilton was not able, like a British Chancellor of the Exchequer, to pilot his measures through their debates in person; he could only present them in writing. This exclusion of ministers from Congress was based on the doctrine of the French writer Montesquieu, which he called *La séparation des pouvoirs*. He held that the executive (i.e. the ministers) should be kept outside parliament because when inside it, as in England, they exercise too much influence over the course of legislation. Indeed we often hear it said to-day (whether rightly or wrongly) that the British House of Commons is a mere legislative machine of which the cabinet ministers turn the handle. The drawback of the American system is that it deprives Congressional debates of the vitality ensured by the presence of the responsible ministers, and gives too much scope for merely factious opposition.

Washington's government got itself started in what seems to us a surprisingly leisurely manner. Though Washington took office as president in the spring of 1789 Hamilton did not take over the Treasury until the autumn, and Jefferson did not return from France to take charge of foreign policy until the following spring. Thus the first budget debates (as we should call them) were held in Congress before Hamilton took office. Madison took the lead in the House, and proposed a five per cent tariff, for revenue purposes, on all imports. This at once roused the cham-

pions of state interests. 'New England wanted a low rate on molasses and a high rate on rum, which they made from it. Pennsylvania wanted its rum free and a duty on steel, which it had begun to manufacture. New England and South Carolina wanted no duty on steel, which would increase the cost to them of shipbuilding and agricultural implements. South Carolina wanted a duty on hemp, which was opposed by Pennsylvania and New England, because it would increase the cost of rigging ships.'*

These debates illustrate two points of importance. One is the difficulty of finding economic policies which would do justice to all parts of a community so widespread and so diverse in its occupations and climatic conditions as the United States. The other point is the method of solving such problems, and indeed many other problems, by what Americans call 'log-rolling'. Sectional interest A would agree to support sectional interest B, provided B would do the same for A. Thus a number of policies, each demanded by no more than a small minority, can secure a joint majority. The result was that Madison's tariff, intended to be a revenue tariff only, became a protective tariff with duties high enough to exclude or penalize imports competing with American production.

In 1791 Hamilton produced a voluminous Report on Manufactures, issued as what would be called a 'white paper' in England. In this he elaborated a policy of thorough-going protection for America's 'infant industries'. During these same years the younger Pitt, in Britain, had been proving himself a disciple of Adam Smith, whose book *The Wealth of Nations*, published in the same year as the American Declaration of Independence, laid down the general principles of free trade.

In the same year Hamilton imposed a tax on whisky. This drink had an advantage over rum, that it was made not from imported molasses but from corn grown at home. Washington, for example, distilled his own whisky for consumption on his large estate, and many American farmers large and small, especially frontiersmen, did the same, for the process is quite a simple one. The whisky excise was very unpopular and occasioned, in 1794, a rebellion in the backwoods of Pennsylvania. Hamilton persuaded Washington to call out the militia of four states, and in face of this formidable demonstration the rebellion collapsed and

* Quoted from *A History of the American People*, by J. T. Adams.

ts champions went home without fighting. Hamilton's enemies (and he had many) said that he had imposed the whisky tax in order to provoke a rebellion, so as to show how effectively the Union could crush it. This is unlikely but not quite impossible. In any case the suppression of the whisky rebellion in 1794, coupled with a crushing victory over the Indians in the Northwest territory, and the final withdrawal of the British garrisons from that territory in the following year (as described on the next page), all went to prove that there was now a real government in America.

Three new states were admitted to the Union during these years, Vermont 1791, Kentucky 1792, and Tennessee 1796.

Vermont, though the first state without direct access to tidal waters, does not belong, like most new states, to the story of western development. It is a wedge of territory on the east side of the Hudson valley and Lake Champlain, between New York state and New Hampshire. The 'Green Mountain boys' under Ethan Allen had played a gallant part in the campaigns of 1775-76 against Canada, and they conducted themselves as a self-governing state from that time onwards, though unrecognized by Congress. Both New York and New Hampshire claimed their territory, and the people of Vermont, disgusted with the indifference of the old Congress, were prepared to return to British allegiance rather than allow themselves to be absorbed by one of their neighbours. The new federal government gave them what they wanted, and Vermont became the fourteenth state.

Kentucky and Tennessee were the first states of the 'middle west'. Two roads, one from Philadelphia and the other from Virginia, made by private enterprise and paid for by turnpike charges, led to Pittsburgh (formerly Fort Duquesne) in western Pennsylvania on the upper waters of the Ohio. From there the western emigrants could float downstream, with Kentucky territory on their left all the way. Tennessee was reached through gaps in the Appalachian mountains. Both territories were well supplied with westward-flowing rivers leading to the Mississippi. But though it is easy to float downstream it is less easy to float up. The natural outlet for produce was by way of the Mississippi and New Orleans, held by Spain, and the Spanish authorities were slow to grant facilities which would encourage the westward development of the states. Many people in the old states welcomed this Spanish attitude because they hoped it would compel

the westerners to seek eastern outlets. The westerners themselves, however, had their own prospects to consider and some of them were prepared to consider accepting the Spanish flag if it was the only way to secure an open door at New Orleans. However, in 1795, Pinckney negotiated a treaty with the Spanish government which gave Americans full and free facilities of export from New Orleans. These two new states, being south of the Ohio, did not come under the terms of the Territorial Ordinance of 1787, and proceeded to legalize slavery.

In the North-west territory there was a great deal of opposition from the Indian tribes, encouraged and armed, it was asserted, by British agents in Canada; there was some truth in American assertions on this subject but also some exaggeration. In 1791 Washington sent out an expedition under St. Clair which quite unnecessarily got itself cut to pieces. The news of this disaster was one of the rare occasions on which Washington lost his temper. However, three years later Anthony Wayne crushed the Indians at Fallen Timbers, near the modern town of Toledo, in Ohio. News of this battle had not reached Britain when in the same year (1794) the British government agreed to surrender their frontier posts and withdraw from the territories between the lakes and the Ohio which they had nominally ceded by the treaty of Paris eleven years before. It was well we did so. The Americans had the men available for colonizing these lands and we had not; and there were to be quite sufficient causes of friction between Britain and America in the nineteenth century without the addition of this really substantial grievance.

AMERICA AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Many Americans followed the course of the French Revolution with enthusiastic sympathy, in spite of the fact that the government which it overthrew had assisted them to throw off the British yoke. They regarded the French Revolution as a movement akin to their own, especially as Lafayette figured as one of its leaders in its early stages. Jefferson even condoned the September massacres of 1792, writing some pernicious nonsense about the tree of Liberty being watered with the blood of tyrants. But when, at the beginning of 1793, France declared war on Britain a serious question arose. The Franco-American treaty of alliance was still in force, and by that treaty the United States was bound to defend the French West Indian islands, which the

British were certain to attack, and to allow the use of its ports to French privateers but not to those of states at war with France. The question could be raised—was an alliance made with the French monarchy applicable to a French republic which had overthrown that monarchy? Washington and Hamilton regarded the French Revolution with disgust, and were determined to avail themselves of this line of argument, and they were supported by Jefferson who, though revolutionist in sympathy, had a horror of war. In April 1793 Washington issued a Declaration of Neutrality; it was by no means universally approved in America.

A few weeks later Citizen Genêt arrived in America as ambassador of the Girondin faction then governing France. He has come to be recognized as one of the comic characters of American history, but the government did not appreciate the joke at the time. He treated America as a dependency of France, issued orders for the fitting out of privateers and the raising of armed forces and, when the government intervened, he attempted a public appeal to the American people against the 'tyrants' by whom they were ruled. The American government thereupon demanded his recall. Meantime, however, the Jacobins had come into power in Paris and Citizen Genêt, scenting the guillotine from afar, preferred to remain in America. He became an American citizen, married the daughter of Governor Clinton of New York and begot, we are told, 'a large and sturdy family'.

The European war had placed a severe strain on the pro-French but anti-war Jefferson and he insisted on resigning his position as Secretary of State at the end of 1793. Six months later Hamilton retired from the Treasury because he could no longer afford to live on the salary of £800 a year attached to the post. For some time past Hamilton and Jefferson had become political and personal enemies. They hated each other, much as Gladstone and Disraeli hated each other in the 1870's. Jefferson hated Hamilton as the diabolically clever instrument of all the forces in politics which he regarded as evil; Hamilton perhaps did not hate Jefferson, but despised him as a hypocrite and a humbug, combining the profession of high ideals with the practice of political trickery. Each was already employing newspapers to support his own policies and depreciate the other. Around them were gathering political parties. Hamilton's party was called Federalist. Jefferson's party was called Republican, then Republican-Democrat, and finally the Democratic party. It is

the ancestor of the American Democratic party of to-day, and in this book it will be called from now onward the Democratic party, even though the other titles were more often used at this time and for the next thirty years.

Hamilton, though out of office, continued to play an important part behind the scenes as an unofficial adviser of Washington and his cabinet. Jefferson went into opposition and proved himself a master of the art of moulding political opinion, though his methods were such as no political leader would make much of to-day. He seldom made speeches, being a poor speaker, nor appealed to the public in print under his own name. Instead, he carried on an enormous private correspondence, by means of which his views silently percolated through the American electorate.

It was one thing to avoid going to war out of sympathy for revolutionary France; another thing to avoid going to war to avenge the injuries received from the British. The British, in this as in all their modern wars, being possessed of sea power, were determined to make full use of it and to stop America trading with France. When the British stopped American ships and seized American cargoes they also often impressed some of the sailors into the service of the British navy—though in fact most of these sailors were British deserters with forged American passports. Also there were grievances left over from the last war, especially as neither side had faithfully carried out the terms of the peace treaty.

Washington and Hamilton were determined to avoid war with Britain, partly because they felt America should keep clear of all European entanglements; partly because, as between Britain and France, they were frankly pro-British; and partly because, as four-fifths of America's foreign trade was with Britain, a British-American war would be commercially ruinous. In 1794 John Jay, a Federalist and the president of the Supreme Court, was sent to Britain to negotiate a settlement of all points in dispute. The treaty with which he returned is commonly known by his name.

When Jay's treaty was published in America, after being reluctantly ratified by the Senate, it was greeted with a howl of execration which it is not easy to understand to-day. No doubt the lead was given by the Democratic party press, eager to find fault with whatever was done by the Federalist government. Special cause of grievance was found in the fact that Jay had been

presented at Court and had kissed the Queen's hand, an offence for which, according to a Democratic journalist, his lips ought to be 'blistered to the bone'. By the terms of the treaty Britain agreed to withdraw from the disputed territory south of the Great Lakes, and America agreed to accept the British claim to seize food on American ships destined for France. French and British privateers were to receive equal treatment in American ports. British West Indian trade was opened to American ships of less than a specified tonnage, and America undertook not to export sugar and cotton from her own ports. It seems that Jay, who was a citizen of New York, was unaware that South Carolina had recently begun to grow cotton, and imagined that cotton, like sugar, was only re-exported from American ports after import from the West Indies. The Senate struck out this last clause, and the British government, after protest, accepted the treaty in its amended form.

Pinckney's Spanish treaty of the same date has already been mentioned in another context, but Jay's treaty and Pinckney's treaty should be viewed together here. Britain and Spain, the only European states possessing colonies in North America, had hitherto been hampering American westward development, in different ways, one in the north and the other in the south. By the two treaties these obstacles were removed.

At the end of his first four years of office Washington had consented to retain the presidency for another term, but at the end of eight years he was determined to go. He was old and tired, and he had resented the abuse that had been heaped on him recently in the less restrained organs of the Democratic press. Without realizing it or intending it he had become a party leader, the head of the Federalist party, and, not being a politician by nature, he never quite realized that hard words are the conventional missiles of party politics. As president he had established the cardinal principle of American foreign policy, abstention from European quarrels, a principle formally laid down twenty-five years later in the Monroe Doctrine.

In an impressive 'farewell message' to his fellow-citizens, published on the day of his retirement, Washington gave this subject special emphasis. 'Why, by inter-weaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition? Our true policy is to steer clear of permanent alliances with any part of the foreign world.' But the phrase 'Beware of entangling alliances', often

attributed to Washington, really came from Jefferson. Washington had also given Hamilton the support without which that brilliant but widely unpopular man could hardly have laid the foundations of the Union as a prosperous business concern. He retired in the spring of 1797 and died two years later. When the news of his death reached Europe the trophies of the French victories were decked in crêpe and the flags of the British Channel fleet were flown at half-mast in honour of the man who had, at different times, so strenuously opposed the ambitions of both France and Britain. The first president of the United States belonged altogether to the century that was closing. Apart from his interest in western development he had little in common with the Americans of the future, either of the Hamiltonian or the Jeffersonian school. In outlook and temperament he was more like an exceptionally fine specimen of the old-fashioned English country gentleman.

The presidential election of 1796 was fought on party lines, each party putting up two candidates, the second of whom would be vice-president. But the members of the electoral college were not under strict party discipline as yet, and the result was that the Federalist Adams was elected president with the Democrat Jefferson as vice-president.

John Adams was not a great man, like Washington, nor a first-class brain, like Hamilton, nor an astute manipulator of public opinion, like Jefferson. He was a typical New Englander of the best quality, well-informed, ruggedly honest, obstinate and dour. His previous career has already been noticed. He took a leading part in securing the command of the 'continental army' for Washington, in securing the acceptance of the Declaration of Independence, and in remodelling the constitution of Massachusetts. He had been the first American ambassador to England (1785-88) and vice-president during Washington's presidency. He is also notable as the founder of a famous family. His son, John Quincy Adams, was president 1825-29; his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, was American ambassador to Britain during the civil war; his great-grandson, Henry Adams, refrained from a public career but his autobiography, ironically entitled *The Education of Henry Adams*, is one of the most distinguished products of American literature.

Hamilton had not stood for the presidency, but he continued to regard himself as a sort of unofficial leader of the Federalist party and Adam's cabinet ministers continued to get their ideas

from him, a cause of intense and very natural annoyance to the new president. The feud between Hamilton and Adams was soon as bitter as the feud between Hamilton and Jefferson had been.

In France the great days of the guillotine were over and the government, from 1795 to 1799, was in the hands of a corrupt and incompetent group called the Directory. French ships were preying on American trade with Britain, and Adams sent a special mission of three envoys to negotiate. The French government received the mission with demands that amounted to blackmail, one of the items being a request for a bribe of £50,000 to the French foreign minister Talleyrand. Adams published the correspondence, known as the XYZ correspondence, because the names of the writers of some of the despatches were concealed behind these letters. American opinion was outraged. 'Millions for defence but not a cent for tribute' was the cry.* War seemed inevitable and Hamilton rejoiced in the prospect. Spain was at this time allied with France, and Hamilton hoped, with British co-operation, to sweep the Spaniards out of Florida, Louisiana and perhaps Mexico too. Several duels between French and American privateers took place.

But Adams, like Washington before him, was resolute for peace, and he knew that France did not want war. Ignoring his own cabinet, with its Hamiltonian sympathies, he fixed up an acceptable settlement with Napoleon, who had overthrown the Directory and established his dictatorship.

During the war fever of 1799 Congress passed an Aliens Act and a Sedition Act. The British reader would naturally assume that these were government measures, but both Adams and Hamilton disliked them. It is characteristic of the *séparation des pouvoirs* established by the American Constitution that a Federalist majority in Congress should make laws independently of, and even against the wishes of, an executive belonging to the same party. The Aliens Act enabled the government to exclude or banish from the country any alien it regarded as dangerous to the safety of the nation, and lengthened the period before an alien could become a citizen of the United States from five to fourteen

* The present American currency, in dollars and cents, had been established shortly before the Union. The dollar was a Spanish coin widely circulating in all European settlements in America. Perhaps its selection for the coinage of the Republic was in part due to a desire to be different from the discarded mother-country. In dividing their dollar into 100 cents the Americans anticipated the metric system soon afterwards popularized by the French Revolutionary Government.

years. The Sedition Act enabled the government to prosecute and, after conviction, imprison anyone publishing statements designed to bring the government into contempt. Such legislation is a commonplace in all modern states when at war, but it offended Jefferson's democratic principles and he drafted, at the request of the state of Kentucky, a protest known as the Kentucky resolutions, which seemed to assert the right of a state to reject or 'nullify' any federal legislation of which it disapproved. Similar resolutions, more cautiously worded, were adopted by Virginia. Thus was raised the question of the sovereignty of the states against the Union which they had voluntarily joined. The right of nullification, if pressed to extremes, clearly carries with it the right of secession, for if a state is entitled to 'nullify' one Act of Congress in spite of the Constitution it must be entitled to nullify all the rest of the Constitution and resume its isolation. Nothing came of the controversy at this time. No action was ever taken by the government under the Aliens Act and the Sedition Act was a temporary measure which lapsed when its time limit expired.

A party divided against itself will never win an election, and when the elections of 1800 came round the Federalists, rent by the feud between the factions of Hamilton and Adams, were doomed. The blame must rest mainly on Hamilton; though a great statesman he had proved himself an unwise and unskilful politician; for it is the business of a politician to deal both with colleagues and with the electorate in such a way that they will follow his lead.

The Democrats put up Jefferson and Aaron Burr as their candidates. Burr was a New York politician who controlled an organization for securing the votes of the poorer class of New York electors, then and long afterwards notorious under the name of Tammany or Tammany Hall. The Democratic party stood for agricultural against commercial interests and also for the poor against the rich. It aimed, then and long afterwards, at securing the general support of the southern states and the poorer class support in the northern states. Jefferson and Burr thus represented the two wings of the party.

The presidential election showed that the party system worked, this time, all too accurately, and Jefferson and Burr tied for the top place on the list. It now lay with the lower House of Congress, the House of Representatives, to decide which of them should be president and Hamilton, in opposition to a large section of his party, successfully exerted himself to secure the election of his old

enemy Jefferson. He regarded Burr as a thorough rogue. Jefferson he regarded as rather a humbug, but he respected his honesty and thought he would prove wiser in office than he had shown himself in opposition.

This incident had two widely different results:—a murder and a constitutional amendment. Burr regarded Hamilton as his personal enemy and four years later found a pretext for challenging him to a duel and killing him. The system which had produced a tie in the presidential voting for two candidates of the same party was clearly defective, and an amendment to the Constitution, the Twelfth Amendment, was carried through by the procedure already described. Henceforth the vice-president was to be elected separately, each party putting up one candidate for the presidency and one for the vice-presidency.

The Virginian Dynasty 1801-25

JEFFERSON: LOUISIANA AND THE EMBARGO

PRESIDENT JEFFERSON enjoyed two terms of office (1801-09) and on his retirement was able more or less to nominate as his successor his friend and colleague, who had been Secretary of State in his cabinet, James Madison. President Madison enjoyed two terms of office (1809-17) and was succeeded by his friend and colleague, who had been Secretary of State in his cabinet, James Monroe. President Monroe also enjoyed two terms of office (1817-25). All three were Virginians, and the period, covering the first quarter of the nineteenth century, has a certain unity and is conveniently labelled 'the Virginian dynasty'. Nearly all the major events of the period belong to one or other of two stories, entanglement with Europe and westwards expansion. Occasionally the two stories influence each other. At the end of the period the entanglement-with-Europe story fades out and the other is left alone. For the next three-quarters of a century American history is an almost exclusively American affair.

Jefferson as a conscientious democrat at once got rid of whatever remained of the pomp and circumstance with which Washington had, from a sense of duty, surrounded the presidential office. His manners were informal and his dress casual to the point of slovenliness. He scandalized the British ambassador by receiving him in carpet slippers. He liked to think that his accession to the presidency was a further instalment of 'revolution'—which it was not, except in externals; for, as Hamilton had foreseen, when once in office Jefferson found himself compelled to carry on in essentials the policy of the Federalists. Indeed, his two chief actions as president extended the power of the Union government further than Hamilton had ever done.

Being a very bad speaker he abandoned the practice, adopted by Washington and Adams, of delivering in person to Congress his 'inaugural' and other presidential addresses. He wrote them out for delivery by the chairman of each House. The older practice was resumed, a century later, by President Wilson.

The accession of Jefferson synchronized with the removal of the seat of government from comfortable and cultured Philadelphia to 'the ludicrous jumble of unfinished buildings on the hills and swamps of what was called the city of Washington'. Uncomplimentary descriptions of this kind abound in the records of the early nineteenth century, and the abandoning of this artificial capital was discussed up to 1846. Some modern writers regard the move to Washington as having been a mistake. If the centre of government had remained at Philadelphia, 'we should have had', says Mr. J. T. Adams, 'a real centre of our national life, a centre to which, as in Rome, Paris, London and other great capitals, the wealth, art, literature, business and politics of the nation would have flowed together, to the social and intellectual broadening, perhaps, of all of them'.* Certainly, the isolation and artificiality of Washington may have contributed to make Congress politicians a class apart, and often, to be frank, an inferior class. In early days the discomforts of Washington were extreme. Until the presidential residence was built Jefferson had to live in a noisy boarding-house, in which he was the only inmate to enjoy a private sitting-room. Members of Congress thought themselves lucky if they got, not a bedroom but a bed to themselves.

Just before leaving office Adams had appointed his Secretary of State, John Marshall of Virginia, to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He retained this office until his death more than thirty years later and his importance in American history can hardly be exaggerated. The Federalists, as a political party, had fallen never to rise again, but Marshall, the last and apart from Hamilton the greatest of the Federalists, carried on their work in a sphere outside party politics. Hitherto the Supreme Court had been rather a failure. Under Marshall it at once established its position as the umpire of the constitution, entitled to declare void any Act, not only of the several states but also of Congress, if it was inconsistent with the terms of the constitution. Of course the Supreme Court, like any other court of justice, only delivers judgments on cases submitted to it in lawsuits. The work of Marshall is to be found in the judgments delivered in a long

* Canada and Australia, both of them federations of previously separate colonies, followed the example of U.S.A. and made the same mistake (if it is a mistake) of establishing an artificial capital. Canberra, like Washington, 'started from scratch'. Ottawa already existed as a small town when it was preferred to the rival cities of Montreal and Toronto as the capital of the Dominion. South Africa has adopted the curious expedient of dividing the functions of a capital city between Cape Town and Pretoria.

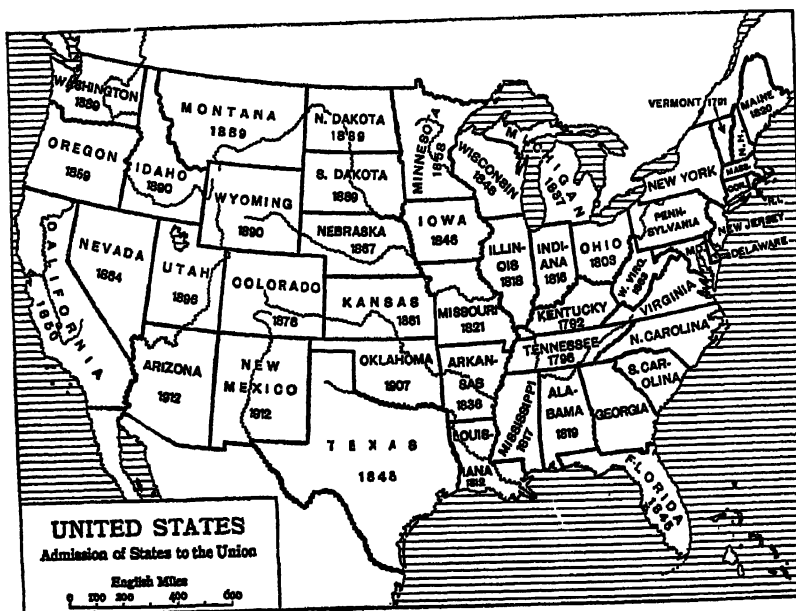
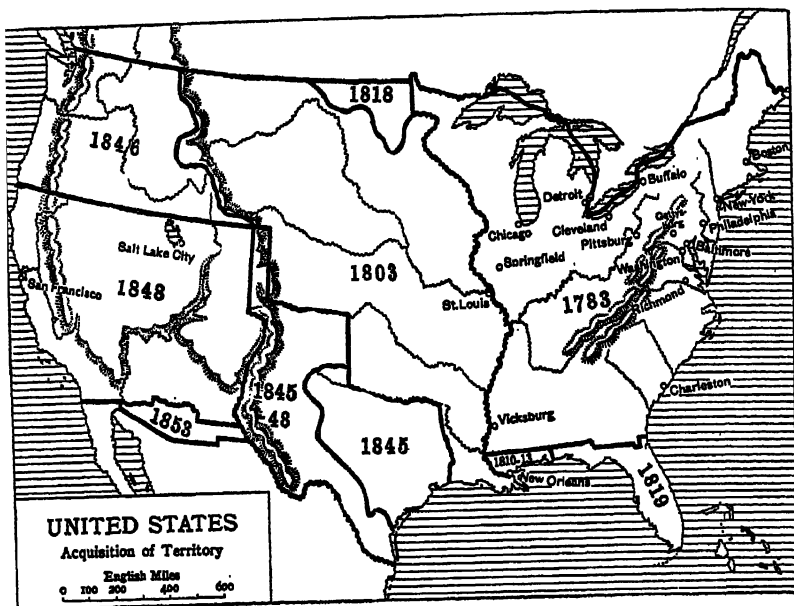
series of such lawsuits, and the tendency of all his judgments was to settle doubtful points (and they were many) in favour of the federal government at the expense of the independent powers of the states.*

Jefferson regarded the Supreme Court with considerable distrust as a rival power, staffed by Federalists and independent of popular control. He launched an impeachment against one of its members, Chase of Maryland, on the ground that, when addressing juries in his capacity as an ordinary judge (i.e. not in the Supreme Court) he had expressed strongly Federalist political opinions. The procedure of impeachment, as authorized by the Constitution, was the same as in England, the House prosecuting and the Senate acting as judges. Chase was acquitted, and the verdict strengthened the position of the Supreme Court. There is reason for thinking that, if he had been condemned, an impeachment would have been launched against Marshall himself.

In 1802 Spain terminated her agreement to allow American exporters the use of the harbour of New Orleans, as she was entitled to do since the time limit of Pinckney's treaty had expired. At the same time it became known that Spain had made over the whole of Louisiana to Napoleon in exchange for some territory in Italy (which she never received). It was the time of the treaty of Amiens; peace reigned in Europe and Napoleon for a brief moment was meditating schemes of overseas empire. Jefferson was thoroughly alarmed. 'There is one single spot on the globe,' he wrote, 'the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans. The day that France takes possession of New Orleans we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation.' He at once sent Monroe to Paris with an offer to buy the city and harbour. By the time Monroe got to Paris Napoleon had decided to renew the war with Britain, and he knew that the British fleet would cut off all access to Louisiana. Monroe was astounded to receive an offer of the whole of the vast and mainly undeveloped province for £3,000,000.† He

* A convenient summary of Marshall's chief judgments will be found in the article on Marshall in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

† Throughout this book I have translated dollars into a rough equivalent in pounds. Strictly speaking \$15,000,000 equals £3,082,304. But what does it matter? Money values have changed so much that no figure conveys much meaning except to an expert. One can safely say (i) that £3,000,000 meant a much larger sum then than it does to-day, and (ii) that even so Louisiana was very cheap at the price!



closed with the offer on his own responsibility. Jefferson felt that the purchase was outside the powers allotted to the Union by the Constitution and, while accepting it, would have liked an amendment carried to justify his proceedings. But America was so pleased that she could not be bothered with an amendment. Thus the territory open to the expansion of the United States was, by a stroke of the pen, almost exactly doubled. Instead of ending at the Mississippi river it henceforth included the whole Mississippi basin up to the watershed of the Rocky Mountains. Previously it had been one-third, now it was two-thirds, of the continental area of the present-day United States. The remaining third was to be added in the great expansion of 1845-50. Delighted with his achievement, Jefferson despatched Lewis and Clark on the journey of exploration recorded in the opening pages of this book.

Other results of the Napoleonic war were much less agreeable to America. Neither France nor Britain paid any regard to the rights of neutral traders to assist its enemy, and the situation, already bad, was made worse by Napoleon's Berlin Decree of 1806 and the British rejoinder. The Berlin Decree proclaimed the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, and declared that all merchandise coming from them, in whatever ships, was lawful prize. Britain replied with Orders in Council prohibiting all trade between any two ports in Napoleon's empire, and also prohibiting all neutral trade with any port from which British ships were excluded, unless the ship first called at a British port and paid duties. Napoleon replied with his Milan Decree authorizing the confiscation of any vessel sailing to or from any port of the British empire. Between the opening of the war in 1803 and 1812, when America declared war on Britain, the British captured 917 American ships and the French 558. Considering British naval supremacy after Trafalgar (1805) it seems surprising that the difference between the achievements of the two belligerents was not greater.

But there was another American grievance which, owing to the circumstances, was a grievance against Britain only. The British stopped American ships and took from them sailors on the ground that they were deserters from the British navy or at any rate British subjects. There is no doubt that a number of British sailors deserted from British ships when in American ports or in ports containing American ships, chiefly because conditions of service and pay in American ships were better. Americans were

quite ready to provide such deserters with certificates of American citizenship, and no country at that date recognized the right of its citizens to divest themselves of its own citizenship and change their nationality. There is also no doubt that the British navy was very hard up for men and that it took what men it could, for it was said to be impossible to distinguish British and American subjects by their speech, or to distinguish between genuine and bogus certificates of American nationality. It is impossible to say what percentage of the men taken from American ships were British subjects and therefore rightfully taken.

A particularly notorious incident occurred in June 1807 when the British frigate *Leopard*, being refused its request to search the American frigate *Chesapeake* for deserters, fired on the *Chesapeake* and disabled her. A British deserter was found hiding on board, but his presence was unknown to the American captain. Jefferson demanded apology and reparation from the British government, which Canning, at that time foreign secretary, refused in somewhat uncompromising terms. It was now open to Jefferson to declare war, but he was, like President Wilson after the sinking of the *Lusitania* by the Germans a hundred and eight years later, 'too proud to fight'. He believed that he could secure his object by other methods.

In December 1807 he secured the passage through Congress of the Embargo Act, prohibiting the export of any produce whatever from the United States or the sailing of any American vessel to any foreign port. There is no doubt that, in his opposition days, Jefferson would have regarded this measure as a gross breach of the Constitution, but it is arguable that, since the president is entitled to declare war, he is entitled to take any measure which could be regarded as a step in the direction of war. In any case, it fitted in with Jefferson's idealistic philosophy. He held, with certain Greek philosophers, that foreign trade is debasing to national character and that the more self-contained a nation can be, the better for it. 'Were I to indulge my own theory,' he wrote, 'I should wish the states to practise neither commerce nor navigation, but to stand with regard to Europe precisely on the footing of China' (which closed her ports to European trade until forced to open them by the British in 1840). He had declared that America ought to have no navy (and under his rule she had very little) because navies always provide temptations to overseas imperialism.

In those days American trade was of comparatively small

importance to Europe, and the Embargo Act did far more harm to American shippers and export industries than to either of the European belligerents. American ships already at sea continued to cruise the oceans of the world without returning home, and the old American tradition of illicit trade, so active in the latter part of colonial days, was revived at the expense of the Embargo Act. But outcries arose from all parts of America, and in New England, where the discredited remnant of the old Federalist party had its stronghold, there was talk of secession from the Union. In fact Jefferson's policy had failed, and in the last days of his presidency he secured the repeal of the Embargo Act, substituting a milder Non-intercourse Act, prohibiting trade with Britain and France until one or other of them should withdraw their obnoxious Decrees and Orders. In this state he handed on the problem to his successor.

Jefferson had still nearly twenty years of life before him, which he spent in cultured and hospitable retirement at his delightful home, Monticello, in up-country Virginia. The main interest of his later years was the foundation of the Virginia State University, a worthy monument to a statesman who was never wholly distracted by politics from the disinterested pursuit of culture, and looked forward to the creation of a truly educated democracy. He was indeed a man of infinite intellectual curiosity. He collected and compared the vocabularies of fifty different Indian languages. He speculated on the influence of climate on the size of animals. He produced a revised and 'improved' version of the New Testament—though he did not believe the doctrines of the Christian religion. He invented a reformed spelling of the Anglo-American language, a new kind of wheelbarrow, and a 'poly-graph' by which he could write two (or more?) identical letters at the same time. When visiting Italy he found that the rice grown there was better than that of South Carolina and, since he was forbidden to take the seeds out of the country, he smuggled out two pocketfuls, which ultimately brought forth a hundred-fold on American soil. A lovable and occasionally absurd man. There may have been, indeed there was, as Hamilton said, an element of humbug in his party politics, but if Washington and Hamilton are the real founders of American institutions, Jefferson has always been recognized as the fountain-head of American idealism. And if there is an element of humbug in American idealism, it does not differ thereby from the idealism of other nations.

MADISON: THE ANGLO-AMERICAN WAR

Madison had played a leading part in the construction of the Constitution, but his character, though blameless, was colourless and he proved a weak president. The relations between America and the European belligerents during the first three years of his presidency present a complicated tangle of misunderstandings. At the end of the three years America declared war on Britain, but it was a war opposed by the shipping interests and only nominally due to British naval and commercial policy; in reality it was a war promoted by the representatives of western expansion and its object was the conquest of Canada. This is the story we have now to tell.

By the terms of the Non-intercourse Act America professed her readiness to renew trade with whichever of the European belligerents would suspend their recent war regulations restricting the rights of neutral trade. Canning was anxious to avail himself of this offer and instructed the British ambassador at Washington, Erskine, to negotiate on these lines. Erskine had an American wife and was very sympathetic to the American point of view. He negotiated a treaty in which he went somewhat beyond his instructions, agreeing not only to the repeal of the Orders in Council but to the abandonment of other maritime rights exercised by Britain before and apart from the objectionable Orders. America at once withdrew the application of the Non-intercourse Act to Britain. When Canning received the draft of the treaty he rejected it, as he was fully entitled to do, recalled Erskine, and sent in his place a diplomatist named Jackson who had a German wife and made himself so objectionable that the American government demanded his recall. He was recalled but not for many months replaced. America reinstituted non-intercourse with Britain. The whole episode illustrates the difficulty of negotiating across the Atlantic in the days before telegraphic communication.

Meanwhile Napoleon was taking a hand in the game with the object of bringing about an Anglo-American war. In August 1810 he announced that the Berlin and Milan Decrees would cease to be applied to American ships from the following November onwards. In actual fact Napoleon does not appear to have carried out this undertaking and it is probable that he never intended to do so, but early in 1811 Madison, while

continuing to enforce the Non-intercourse Act against Britain, reopened trade with France. Britain protested that America was stabbing her in the back at a time when she was straining all her resources in the cause of liberty against the most aggressive despotism in history. In May 1811, there was another frigate incident. The American ship *President* gave chase to what her captain believed to be the British *Guerrière*, which was alleged to have impressed American seamen on board. She disabled her adversary, which turned out to be another British ship with no impressed seamen on board at all. But no matter: the *Chesapeake* was avenged.

Meanwhile more important events were taking place in the North-west territory. Ohio had become a state in 1803. Indiana, Illinois and Michigan were already attracting pioneers. There were here two factors to be considered. On the one hand the Indians were more formidable than usual. They had found real leaders in Tecumseh and his brother, known as the Prophet. These men, heroes of a doomed race, had achieved really remarkable results. They had been successful in repressing the drink traffic with which the white man undermined Indian resistance:—for it was recognized among the whites that an Indian drunk was almost as good as an Indian dead. They had also persuaded an unusually large number of Indian tribes to act together in self-defence. There is no doubt that Tecumseh drew a certain amount of support from Canada, in the way of munitions.

The other factor was that the onward movement of America was reaching the end of the forest country which covers the eastern part of the American continent. The open prairies lay beyond and the American pioneer did not fancy leaving the woods which had supplied both his building material and his firewood. Thus the stream of immigration, on reaching the edge of the forests, tended to turn north, towards Canada. Many Americans felt, then and long afterwards, that a 'manifest destiny' intended the whole North American continent for their disposal. The indefinite continuance of a fringe of British Empire territory along their northern frontier seemed as improbable as it seemed undesirable. For Canada at that date was a very small concern—two little colonies under a single governor on the northern side of the St. Lawrence and Lakes Erie and Ontario. More than half the European population was French and the greater part of the remainder were American 'Loyalists' driven out of the States thirty years before. There had as yet been

hardly any immigration from Britain and the total population was less than half a million.

In 1811 Harrison, governor of Indiana territory, destroyed the headquarters of Tecumseh's Indians, during the chief's absence, at Tippecanoe. At the same time there appeared in the newly elected House of Representatives at Washington a group of young members, nicknamed the War Hawks, who demanded war with Britain for the conquest of Canada. Two of these men, Clay of Kentucky and Calhoun of South Carolina, had long and conspicuous careers before them. Madison did not want war, but he was a weak man, bothered to death by a British government which was too busy with Napoleon to treat him with much ceremony, and he was anxious to secure his re-election for a second presidential term. In May 1812 British despatches arrived declaring that Napoleon had not in fact suspended his Decrees and protesting against Madison's preferential treatment of France. On June 18th, in spite of the protests of American shipping interests which realized that the British navy would sweep their trade off the seas, Madison declared war. On June 16th, the British government had announced its decision to suspend the Orders in Council. An electric cable would have either prevented the war or revealed its true character as a war of aggression. Two days before declaring war Madison sent Congress a list of 6,057 American seamen alleged to have been forcibly taken off American ships by the British during the previous three years. Thereupon the Massachusetts assembly, being opposed to the war, undertook an independent examination of the facts. It appointed a committee which took the evidence of fifty-one shipowners who had employed between them 18,720 seamen during the previous twelve years. Within their personal experience they knew of only thirty-five cases of impressment from their ships. Of these only twelve had been Americans, and of these the British had released nine and one had escaped. This may not have been the whole truth but seems to dispose of impressment as a serious cause of war.

A grandiose American scheme for an invasion of Canada from four directions failed with ludicrous completeness. The Canadian Isaac Brock, with 700 men, persuaded Hull with a much larger American force to surrender at Detroit without firing a shot. Hull was afterwards court-martialled, sentenced to be shot, and pardoned. Other military incidents of the attempted invasion were almost equally discreditable. New England frankly opposed the

war, and one of its leaders described the invasion of Canada as 'a wanton, wicked and cruel attack'; on which a modern American writer comments—'Wanton and wicked it may have been but to describe it as cruel was too flattering'.

At sea there was a different story to tell. The American frigates, though few, were of high quality and they won a series of duels with British ships of approximately equal calibre, a humiliating experience for the victors of Trafalgar. However, in June 1813, the British *Shannon* defeated the American *Chesapeake* and from that time onwards the American coast was blockaded from end to end, American overseas trade simply stopped, as it had never been stopped by Embargo and Non-intercourse.

Otherwise the war was a random and planless affair. British and American fleets fought on the Great Lakes, indecisively on Lake Ontario, but victoriously for the Americans on Lake Erie. The American armies recovered from their bad start. One force invaded Canada in 1813 and burned the town of Queenstown near Niagara. Young Winfield Scott won a little battle at Chippewa, thus starting a career which he ended as commander-in-chief of the Federal army at the beginning of the Civil War nearly fifty years later.

But with the year 1814 a very different prospect opened up. The Napoleonic war was ending; Britain would be able to give undivided attention to the American war and ship across the Atlantic the veterans that had defeated half a dozen Napoleonic marshals in Spain. Prevost invaded the States from Montreal, with 10,000 Peninsula veterans, following the same route as Burgoyne had followed to Saratoga thirty-eight years before; but the American ships won a brilliant action on Lake Champlain, and Prevost displayed amazing incompetence. In August, a British force landed in Virginia, occupied Washington, and burned the public buildings as a reprisal for the burning of the public buildings at Toronto. Madison had to flee with such precipitation that the British admiral was able to eat the dinner that had been cooked for the American president. His official residence was afterwards burnt, but the walls remained intact and were retained, being painted white to cover the scars of the burning. Hence the name 'the White House', ever since applied to what is at once the Buckingham Palace and the 10, Downing Street of the United States.

After failing in an attack on Baltimore the expedition went round to New Orleans, where Pakenham, one of Wellington's

Peninsula generals, was landed with 10,000 men to capture the port. Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, with 5,000 westerners who were trained shots but hardly trained soldiers, took up a strong entrenched position. Pakenham made a frontal attack in the best Bunker Hill style, and failed after suffering 2,000 casualties. Jackson lost eight killed and thirteen wounded, and is said to have remarked that these had unnecessarily exposed themselves. In Jackson America discovered her only hero of the Anglo-American war, a fact which was to prove important ten years later.

But when Jackson fought his battle the treaty ending the war had already been signed at Ghent.* It was a remarkable treaty in its way, for it did not mention any of the problems that had nominally caused the war; for the Napoleonic war was over, and one might hope that the insoluble problems of neutral rights of trade and belligerent rights of seizure could go into cold storage for an indefinite period. No one could have guessed that, when next they were raised, America would be the belligerent and Britain and France the neutrals; yet so it was.

The British have almost completely forgotten the Anglo-American war of 1812-14. In the average school text-book it occupies a dull and irrelevant paragraph between the first abdication of Napoleon and his return from Elba. Americans cannot treat it quite as lightly, and some American writers, not the best, have attempted to glorify it and have even called it the 'Second War of Independence'. Actually, though it might be called the War of Canadian Independence, it was a war of American aggression. Nor can it be said, as some have said, that it increased America's sense of unity and nationhood. It would be more true to say that it revealed the fact that unity and nationhood were not yet fully achieved. During the war the New England states held a Convention at Hartford where their secession from the Union was seriously discussed. These discussions proved embarrassing to New Englanders and both annoying and alarming to others. When the news of peace arrived all did their best to forget them.

The most important result of the war was wholly disastrous. It revived Anglo-American ill-feeling for a rising generation to whom the Stamp Act and the Boston tea party were just becoming ancient history.

* Someone has said of the war of 1812-14 that 'its cause was removed before it began and the fighting took place after it had finished'. This is an exaggeration, no doubt.

Another result of the war and of the period of restricted overseas trade that preceded it was the development of manufacturing industry. Samuel Slater, after learning the trade in England, had started cotton-spinning with the new Lancashire machines at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1790, but in 1807 there were only 8,000 spindles in New England whereas in 1815 there were 500,000. Textile manufacture was becoming as important to New England as shipping and it would soon be more important. At the same time a great iron and steel industry was developing in western Pennsylvania with its centre at Pittsburgh, where coal was abundant. After the war British manufacturers of textiles and steel pursued in the American market a policy long afterwards called dumping: they sold below cost price in order to nip their infant rivals in the bud. This led to a demand for a more definitely protective tariff in 1816. It was supported by the central states and also by the south, for South Carolina hoped, in vain as it turned out, to develop textile industries of her own on the lands that actually grew the cotton; it was opposed in New England, where the old-established shipping industry still counted for more than the textiles. The result was a mildly protective tariff, but America was beginning to move in the direction indicated by Hamilton's 'Report on Manufactures'. That far-sighted statesman would have been amused, too, could he have known that the Democratic party, after allowing his hated Federal bank to expire at the end of its twenty years' lease, came to the conclusion that it had better re-establish it, after a few years' experience of the vagaries of state and private banks. Here Marshall, as so often, came to the assistance of a strong Federal policy. The state of Maryland, jealous of the Federal bank, decided to render the existence of its branch in Baltimore impossible by imposing a confiscatory state tax on it. Marshall delivered a judgment declaring the tax illegal.

This is perhaps the best place to record that during the Jefferson-Madison period the United States conducted off and on an extraordinary little war with the piratical Pasha of Tripoli. It began in 1800 when this potentate cut down the flag flying over the office of the American consul and insulted an officer of the American navy. Tripoli was successfully bombarded in 1805, and the Pasha forced to sign a treaty—which he did not consistently observe. There was another expedition in 1815 under Captain Decatur to punish Tripoli and other nests of Barbary corsairs. It coincided in date with a British expedition of the same kind

under Lord Exmouth, to Algiers. It was high time this Mediterranean piracy, which had been going on since long before the discovery of America, was abated.

Captain Decatur was the author, at a banquet given on his return, of the famous or notorious toast—'Our Country! in her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but—Our Country, right or wrong!' Many people imagine that this is a slogan of a wicked British imperialism, so it is worth noting that it comes from America.

In 1818 Congress approved the final design for the national American flag, the stars and stripes. A new star was added for each additional state admitted to the Union. But in an unofficial form the flag had been in existence for some time. Indeed the song, 'The Star-Spangled Banner', now the national anthem of the United States, was one of the patriotic by-products of the Anglo-American war of 1812. On the British side the war also produced a song, the feeble and well-forgotten 'Yankeeoodle', celebrating the duel between the *Chesapeake* and the *Shannon*.

MONROE: AMERICA LEAVES EUROPE AND GOES WEST

James Monroe was the most fortunate of all the presidents, for his term of office coincided with what is known in American history as the Era of Good Feeling. The Federalist party was virtually dead, having bequeathed its policy to its victorious rival. When he stood for re-election in 1820 only one vote out of 232 was cast against him in the electoral college, and the exception was not a political opponent but a sentimentalist who held that only Washington deserved the honour of unanimous election. When he retired it was not in bitterness and disillusion, like all his predecessors and most of his successors, but with a comfortable feeling that all had gone well. Six years later he enjoyed the further satisfaction of dying, like Jefferson and John Adams, on the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.* More new states were added to the Union during his presidency than during any other—Mississippi 1817, Illinois 1818, Alabama 1819, Maine 1820, Missouri 1821. His name is attached to the most famous statement of American foreign policy, though he

* The mathematical chances against three of the first five presidents dying on July 4th must have been something stupendous. More remarkable still, Adams and Jefferson died on the *same* Independence Day, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary. On his death-bed Adams said 'Jefferson still lives', but he was wrong, for Jefferson had died earlier in the day.

was not really its author. Alone among American presidents he has given his name to a city outside the American continent—Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, an African settlement of emancipated American slaves. Yet he was a fairly commonplace, though industrious, conscientious and amiable man. Before becoming Secretary of State under Madison he had been employed on a number of European missions, the best known being the Louisiana purchase. It is characteristic of the Monrovia good fortune that he should have had that particular job—the biggest achievement since the foundation of the Union yet as easy as saying ‘thank you’ to someone who has given you a birthday present.

The events of Monroe’s presidency fall into two groups:—a trio of highly successful achievements which rounded off and solved the problems of relationship with the great powers of Europe, and the western developments which formed the prelude to American history for the next forty years.

As Secretary of State Monroe appointed John Quincy Adams, son of old John Adams. He had left the Federalist party on account of its barren and factious opposition some ten years previously, and was now fifty years old, having spent twenty years of his life in the diplomatic service in Europe. He had been one of the negotiators of the treaty of Ghent, and his first task was to complete what the treaty of Ghent had left uncompleted, a full settlement of all outstanding Anglo-American questions. The Louisiana purchase made necessary an extension of the Canadian frontier, and the commonsense principle was adopted of extending the line due west across the map along the forty-ninth parallel of latitude to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. More important, it was agreed that the rival fleets on the Great Lakes should be disarmed, and that the whole frontier from end to end should be unguarded and unfortified. It was a practical and, as it has proved, successful declaration of perpetual peace between the two great English-speaking nations.

Beyond the end of the frontier lay the region called Oregon, which to-day contains British Columbia and the American states of Oregon, Washington and Idaho, but was at that time almost entirely unoccupied, except for the British island colony of Vancouver and an America fur-trading post at Astoria.* It was

* Founded in 1811 by George Jacob Astor, a German American of New York, one of the first transatlantic millionaires and founder of the fortunes of the Astor family, one branch of which has within the last fifty years recrossed the Atlantic and adopted British citizenship.

agreed that this territory should for the present be regarded as held in joint occupation by Britain and America, which meant that they would act together to prevent encroachment upon it by either Mexico, still nominally Spanish, from the south or the Russians in Alaska from the north.

This treaty seems to have no recognized name and is generally called the Treaty of 1818. Credit for it should go to Adams and to Rush, his ambassador in London, and not less to Castlereagh, the British foreign secretary, who was always more sympathetic to America than his rival and contemporary Canning.

Spain still owned Florida, which included not only the present-day state of Florida but half the coast of the state of Alabama. The Indian tribes in Florida, Creeks and Seminoles, were a continuous nuisance to American settlers near the Spanish frontier. Monroe sent Andrew Jackson to deal with the matter, and Jackson characteristically not only drove the Indians out of American territory but pursued them into Spanish, capturing and executing two English adventurers, Arbuthnot and Ambrister. Castlereagh accepted the American version of the guilt of these Englishmen—which may have been the truth of the matter—and Spain agreed to sell Florida for a little over £1,000,000.

Ever since Napoleon's invasion of Spain which started the Peninsular war in 1808, the Spanish-American colonies from Mexico to Cape Horn had been in a state of revolt against Spanish rule. Continental Europe for a decade after Waterloo was dominated by a combination of the great powers, popularly known as the Holy Alliance, whose policy was to suppress all revolutionary movements in European states. In pursuance of this policy a French expedition in 1823 assisted the King of Spain to suppress a revolution in his own country. There was then talk of assisting him to recover his American empire. Canning, who had succeeded Castlereagh as British foreign secretary in 1822, was determined to prevent this, mainly because Britain had established a valuable trade with Spanish-America since Spain had lost control of it. He was also anxious to secure that Spanish-America, when freed from Spanish control, should not become, wholly or partly, territory annexed to the United States, which had certainly displayed a wonderful capacity for buying up the earth's surface at bargain-sale prices. He proposed to Monroe's government a joint Anglo-American declaration, forbidding any European expedition to Spanish-

America and declaring that neither Britain nor the United States would make any annexations in these territories.

Monroe consulted Jefferson and Madison and all three of them liked the idea, but Adams would have none of it. He did not wish America to figure as a junior partner of Britain in a joint declaration, and he saw no reason why she should debar herself from extending her territory southwards if some future occasion made it convenient for her to do so. He insisted that America should make her own declaration of policy in her own terms, and drafted a document which was issued as a presidential message to Congress, containing what has ever since been called the Monroe Doctrine (1823). The United States, it was declared, did not and would not interfere in the internal affairs of Europe or with the existing colonies of European powers, where actual European rule was still in existence. (This safeguarded Canada, the West Indies, and the British, French and Dutch colonies in Guiana. Portuguese Brazil had already become independent.) The rest of the two American continents, having become independent of Europe, should not be considered as any longer open to European interference, and any such interference would be regarded by the United States as 'dangerous to our peace and safety'. The declaration was directed not only against interference in Central and South America across the Atlantic but also against the more real but less conspicuous danger of Russian advance into Oregon from Alaska. The Tsar accepted the position and made a treaty withdrawing three and a half degrees from his previous claim along the Pacific coast. Henceforth 54° 40' was the Pacific frontier of Alaska.

Canning issued an independent British declaration and made his characteristically egotistical speech. 'I have called a new world into existence,' etc. Of course it is true that what kept the forces of the Holy Alliance away from the American continent was neither the 'doctrine' of Monroe nor the eloquence of Canning but the power of the British navy. But that did not affect the importance of the Monroe Doctrine as a statement of American policy. In a sense it established an American protectorate over the whole of the 'New World'. The United States had no present intention of taking control of Central or Southern American territory but, to take what was then a not impossible case, if any Central or South American republic proposed to surrender herself to a European empire, the United States held herself entitled to intervene to prevent it.

The five new states added to the Union during Monroe's presidency have already been mentioned. Taking the whole period of the Virginian dynasty we must prefix to these five Ohio 1803, Louisiana 1812 and Indiana 1816—which makes eight. They fall into three groups.

Ohio 1803,
Indiana 1816,
Illinois 1818,

mark the advance westward across the North-west territory to the site where Chicago now stands. At this date Chicago did not exist; an outpost called Fort Dearborn occupied its place on the map.

Louisiana 1812,
Mississippi 1817,
Alabama 1819,

represent the growth of the 'cotton belt' of the 'Black South'. At first sight it may seem strange that the order of these states should be from west to east instead of from east to west. But, unlike the northern trio, they are all open to the sea, and it was natural that Louisiana,* though the furthest away, should get started first since it contained an already established French-Spanish settlement and the port of New Orleans; and that Mississippi, having a frontier on the river of that name, should be a trifle ahead of Alabama, which filled the gap between it and Georgia. The remaining pair,

Maine 1820,
Missouri 1821,

have a story of their own which will follow in due course.

By 1820 the population of the United States was 9,600,000, of whom more than a quarter lived beyond the Appalachian mountains. Indeed there were already more Americans beyond the mountains than there had been in all the thirteen colonies at the time of the Stamp Act. The Federal government has taken a census every ten years since 1790, and it has a direct political importance not possessed by the British census (first held in 1801); for on the American census every ten years the number of representatives allowed to each state in congressional and

* Louisiana *state* is of course but a small part of the Louisiana *territory* previously purchased from Napoleon.

presidential elections is readjusted. These censuses show that every ten years down to 1860 the population increased by one-third. This figure is the more remarkable because immigration from Europe did not make a large contribution to it, the total immigration from 1783 to 1825 being only about a quarter of a million, though of course most of the immigrants would be young men and women ready to make further contributions to the population after arrival. But large-scale emigration from Europe to America did not begin till the 1840's.

Progress in western development, except where it lay along the Gulf of Mexico, depended on transport; for even the hardest and most primitive of American pioneers did not intend to live, like Robinson Crusoe, entirely on their own products. At the beginning of the century the settlers of Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio sent their produce—flour, furs or cured meat—down the rivers to New Orleans in flat boats propelled by poles. After unloading, the boat was broken up and its crew returned home; either on foot or on horseback up the river banks or by sea round to the eastern ports, where they purchased stores, and so home through the mountains or by the turnpike roads already mentioned to Pittsburg on the headwaters of the Ohio.

In 1802 Gallatin, Jefferson's Secretary to the Treasury, suggested that the Federal government should finance the building of a road from Cumberland, at the highest navigable point on the Potomac, to Wheeling on the Ohio. Jefferson, after expressing the usual doubts as to the constitutionality of the proposal, agreed to recommend it to Congress, and the road was built, being partly financed by a five per cent charge on the sale of public lands in the state of Ohio. The road was by 1818 extended as a Federal concern to St. Louis on the Mississippi. It is known as the Cumberland road.

The 'Federal road' benefited the Potomac states, Maryland and Virginia, so New York undertook a rival project, a canal from Buffalo at the eastern end of Lake Erie, just above Niagara Falls, to Albany on the Hudson river by the route of the Mohawk valley, along which St. Leger had hoped to advance against New York in 1777. It would be the greatest canal in the world, 363 miles long and rising to an elevation of 600 feet. After eight years' work it was completed (1825) and gave New York city the impetus which enabled it to shoot ahead of Philadelphia and become the biggest city in America; 60,000 in 1800, it was well over a million in 1860; during the same period Philadelphia rose

from 70,000 to just over half a million. The advantage of the canal over the road was that four horses could pull a 3,000-pound load along the road, but a 200,000-pound load through the water. The cost of overland transport from Buffalo to Albany had been £20 a ton; by canal it was less than £3 a ton.*

The Virginian dynasty period covers most of the early history of the steamboat. John Fitch had a steamboat running on the Delaware river as early as 1790, but for some reason or other it did not attract the public. In 1807 Fulton's paddle-steamer *Clermont*, the engine of which was made by Messrs. Boulton and Watt, Birmingham, England, made her trial trip up the Hudson from New York to Albany in thirty-two hours and in 1811 steamers ran from New Orleans up the Mississippi and Ohio to Pittsburg. After the end of the Anglo-American war steamers appeared on most American water-ways but, though the *Savannah* crossed the Atlantic in 1819, it was a long time before steam ousted sail on the sea-routes. As late as 1870 the tonnage of sailing ships was still well ahead of steam. In the days of President Monroe, American Atlantic sailing ships were superior to their British rivals, and the British began to compete with American superiority in sail by the introduction of auxiliary steam-power supplementing sails.

A book called *A Guide for New Emigrants to the West*, published in 1837, gives a vivid picture of the course of western development:

'Generally in all the western settlements three classes, like waves of the ocean, have rolled one after the other. First comes the pioneer who depends for the subsistence of his family chiefly upon the natural growth of vegetation, called "the range", and the proceeds of his hunting. His instruments of agriculture are rude, chiefly of his own make, and his efforts usually restricted to a crop of corn and a "truck patch". The last is a rude garden for growing vegetables. It is quite immaterial to him whether he ever becomes the owner of the soil. He is the occupant for the time being and pays no rent. He builds his log cabin, gathers around him a few other families of similar tastes and habits and occupies it till the range is somewhat subdued or hunting a little precarious or, which is more frequently the case, till neighbours

* Some of the chief places on the canal route, from east to west, are Troy, Schenectady, Amsterdam, Utica, Rome, Syracuse, Lyons, Palmyra and Rochester—an amusing and perhaps typical collection of American place-names. English place-names have grown out of a prehistoric past. American place-names are for the most part modern labels, like the names of villas in a suburban street. Here is another list of places from the time-table of the Long Island stage coach of 1828: Flatbush, Bath, Hempstead, Jerusalem, Cow Neck, Westbury, Mosquito Cove, Jericho, Oyster Bay, Dixhill, Babylon, Islip.

crowd around, roads, bridges and fields annoy him, and he lacks elbow-room. The pre-emption law enables him to dispose of his cabin and cornfield to the next class of immigrants and, to employ his own figures, he "breaks for the high timber", "clears out for the new purchase", migrates elsewhere to work the same process over again.

'The next class of emigrants purchase the lands, add field to field, clear out the roads, throw rough bridges over the streams, put up hewn log-houses with glass windows and brick or stone chimneys, occasionally plant orchards, build mills, school-houses, court-houses, and exhibit the picture and the forms of a plain and frugal but civilized life.

'Another wave rolls on. The men of capital and enterprise come. The settler of the second wave is ready to sell out and take the advantage of the rise of property, push further into the interior and then himself become a man of capital and enterprise. The small village rises to a spacious town or city; extensive fields, orchards, gardens, colleges and churches are seen. Broadcloths, silks, leghorns, crapes, and all the refinements, elegancies, luxuries and frivolities are in vogue. Thus wave after wave is rolling westward: the real Eldorado is still further on.*

The development of the 'gulf states' was based on the immense expansion of the cotton plantation industry.

Cotton had not been grown on the mainland in colonial times, and as late as 1795 Jay seems to have been unaware that it had become an American product. Two years before that date a simple invention had opened up new prospects. The troublesome part of the industry hitherto had been the separating of the cotton from its seed. One slave could raise on good soil 2,500 pounds of seed cotton in a season, but the separation of the fibre from the seed would then require the time of twenty-five slaves for a hundred days. This and more to the same effect was told to Eli Whitney, a young New Englander who had come to Georgia seeking a job as a schoolmaster, and was staying with the widow of Washington's old officer, General Greene. Whitney hit upon the idea of combing the fibre away from the seed by wire brushes revolving on a pair of rollers like those of a mangle. The device proved entirely successful and in essentials has never been superseded, though the modern gins are big machines worked by steam or electrical power instead of being turned by a single man with a handle. As a result of Whitney's invention, out of which he made no profit, for he never succeeded in patenting it, cotton export rose from 200,000 pounds in 1791 to 18,000,000 in 1800

* The quotation has been in places condensed.

and 64,000,000 in 1807. It continued to increase and became far the largest American export just as cotton goods became at the same time the largest export of Britain.

The cotton belt in America and the cotton towns of South Lancashire rose together, representing different stages in the production of the same article. The cotton gin was for the first stage what the spinning jenny and the power loom were for the second and third stages of that production. Both in America and in Britain the new industry brought with it great social evils. In Britain the Lancashire mills exhibited the most conspicuous, if not the worst, example of child labour under factory conditions; in America the cotton plantations caused a great extension of the worst form of slavery. In Britain the evils of child labour were gradually and peacefully removed by a series of Acts of Parliament; in America slavery was abolished only at the cost of a civil war.

As cotton passed tobacco in economic importance so South Carolina, politically the leading cotton state, though it was soon far surpassed by Mississippi and Alabama in the actual production of cotton, replaced Virginia as the leader of the southern states. Never again did Virginia produce such a quintet as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Marshall. No Virginian of the period about to open was comparable in importance with Calhoun of South Carolina. But whereas the Virginian quintet had been national leaders Calhoun became more and more the leader of 'the South', the forerunner of secession.

American internal history since the establishment of the Union had witnessed the growing strength of the central authority. In one respect the growing number of the new states, very soon to be more numerous than the old, added to that strength. The old states had ancient histories and proud traditions; they were still very conscious of the fact that they had created the Union. The new states, artificial creations with shifting populations, had no such state consciousness; they were not the parents but the offspring of the Union. But though individual states might count for less than at the time of the Union, what was called sectionalism counted for more. The United States had become three sections with divergent economic interests, North, South and West. The West bought its manufactured articles from the North, or from Europe through the northern markets, and sold its surplus food to the South. The South bought its manufactured articles from the North and part of its food from the West and sold the

bulk of its crop to Europe. Three-quarters of this export was carried in American ships, practically all of them built in northern yards and owned by northern shippers.

Between North and South there was a growing difference of outlook based on the fact that the northern states had abolished slavery whereas the southern states had not. The northern states had not abolished slavery because they loved the negro but because they had found by experience that they did not want negroes, slave or free. The usual method of abolition adopted by the northern legislatures was a law declaring that all negroes born after a date named in the Act would be free. Thereupon northern slave-owners hastened to sell their slaves, especially their young female slaves, to southern slave-owners—a fact which should acquit the North of any superior humanity. Thus early in the nineteenth century the northern states became not only free from slaves but very largely free from negroes. The census of 1830 shows that in Massachusetts the negroes were one per cent of the population, in New York two per cent, in Pennsylvania three per cent; in Maryland (the most northern slave state) 33 per cent, in Virginia 42 per cent, in South Carolina 55 per cent.*

At the time of the Union there had been an optimistic feeling that slavery would die a natural death. The importation of fresh slaves from Africa had ended, under the terms of the Constitution, as a legal traffic, in 1808, though smuggling kept it alive on a small scale. A few enthusiasts founded in 1821 a settlement for emancipated slaves in Liberia on the African coast, but very little came of it. The number of freed American negroes repatriated in Liberia was less than the number of newly enslaved Africans smuggled across the Atlantic in the opposite direction. The invention of the cotton gin and the immense development of the cotton plantations gave slavery a new lease of life. More slaves were wanted, though the regular importation of them had stopped, and Virginia, too far north for cotton and no longer prospering with tobacco owing to the exhaustion of the soil of her plantations, found a new industry as a slave-breeding and exporting state. Washington, the capital of the Union, became the principal slave market.

Slavery was the badge of the South; and North and South

* It is interesting to compare these figures with those of the 1930 census a hundred years later. These show: Massachusetts, 1·2 per cent; New York, 3·2 per cent; Pennsylvania, 4·5 per cent; Maryland, 17 per cent; Virginia, 27 per cent; S. Carolina, 45 per cent—a relative increase in the North and a decrease in the South.

became conscious that they were competing for shares in the West. In 1819 Missouri demanded admission to the Union as a slave state. The Ohio had hitherto been the established frontier, under the North-west Territorial Ordinance of 1787, between free states and slave states. But what about states to be formed in the Louisiana territory? Louisiana state had been admitted as a slave state in 1812 without controversy; slavery had long existed there under the Spanish and French occupations. But westwards immigration, starting beyond the point where the Ohio joins the Mississippi, had spread northwards and not southwards. The would-be state of Missouri was not contiguous to Louisiana but much further north, separated from it by what afterwards became the state of Arkansas. It was not and never would be cotton plantation country.

When Missouri demanded admission as a slave state the representatives of the North opposed it, and the hitherto mainly unconscious rivalry of North and South became conscious. It was, said the aged Jefferson, like the ringing of a fire-bell in the night. The free states, with their greater population, had already more representatives in the House, but as the number of slave and free states was equal, eleven of each, the two sections were equally represented in the Senate. Whichever Missouri became, slave or free, it would give its section a senatorial majority. Both sides sought support for their demand from the terms of the Constitution. Southerners argued that slavery was a domestic question for each state, over which the Union had no control. The old northern states had nearly all of them abolished it for their own people since the establishment of the Union. If that were so, then equally they could if they wished re-introduce it; and if they could re-introduce it Missouri, since new and old states were on an absolutely equal footing, could establish it. The northerners argued that, since it lay with the Union to admit new states, it was in their power to impose conditions of admission, and they cited the North-west Territorial Ordinance which had forbidden slavery in states north of the Ohio. The southerners retorted that the Ordinance had forbidden slavery in the North-west territory before there were any states there, and that there was no similar ordinance forbidding slavery in the territory of the Louisiana purchase.

In the end a compromise was reached, suggested by Clay. Maine was demanding to be separated from Massachusetts and made a new state in the extreme north-east. Maine would of

course be a free state; Missouri was admitted as a slave state; and the balance of power in the Senate was preserved. At the same time an extension was given to the 'Mason-Dixon line'* between the slave and free states of the future, running due west from what was virtually the southern boundary of Missouri. This meant that in the long run the free states would greatly outnumber the slave states. It was for the South an unfortunate fact that the Louisiana territory was very much wider in the north than in the south.

There was one respect in which the new states, slave and free, were all alike, and different from the old states. They all adopted completely or nearly completely democratic franchises. Pioneering conditions made for democracy, and the westerners were mostly poor men who had suffered the grievance of disfranchisement in the states from which they had emigrated. What was perhaps less to be expected but none the less happened was that the old states followed the example of the new ones. Before 1832, when Britain abolished her rotten boroughs and established a cautiously middle-class franchise, practically every state of the Union had established a one-man one-vote system so far as adult males of European race were concerned.

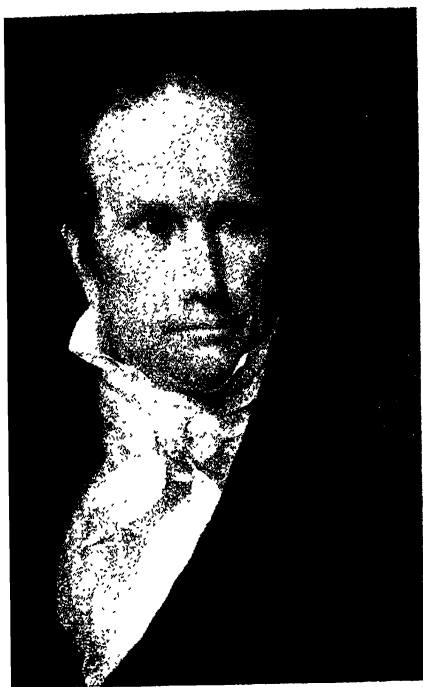
* See page 17.

Democracy and Expansion 1824-50

THE JACKSONIAN REVOLUTION 1824-37

THE Democratic party in the later years of Monroe's presidency was in much the same state as the British Whig party in the reign of George II. There was no effective opposition party, but the party in power was split into groups following rival leaders, divided by no clearly defined principles. Thus it came about in 1824 that instead of an almost uncontested election to the presidency such as Madison and Monroe had enjoyed, four candidates were nominated, John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Clay of Kentucky, Crawford of Georgia, and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. The first three were men whose political activities at Washington, in cabinet office or in Congress, had fitted them to claim the presidency as fitness for the presidency had hitherto been understood. But Jackson was not a politician in the ordinary sense of the term at all, for his experience of Federal politics had been limited to a period of two years in the House of Representatives nearly thirty years before, followed by six months in the Senate, from which he resigned in disgust with its proceedings. Born of poor parents in 1767 in the backwoods of North Carolina, he had emigrated into Tennessee and lived the rough-and-ready life of a frontiersman. He had little education and had fought many duels. Tall and gaunt, passionate and picturesque, he had blossomed out as a national hero by his defence of New Orleans.

In the electoral college Jackson received 99 votes, Adams 84, Crawford 41 (a paralytic stroke afterwards removed him from the contest) and Clay 37. According to the Constitution, since no candidate had a majority over all the others combined, the choice of a president was transferred to the House. Clay recommended his supporters to vote for Adams, who was accordingly elected. Adams appointed Clay his Secretary of State. The Jacksonians raised the cry of 'corrupt bargain', but without any justification; Clay was fully entitled to prefer Adams to Jackson, and Adams was one of the most rigidly honourable of men. He would have made Clay his Secretary of State in any case. The



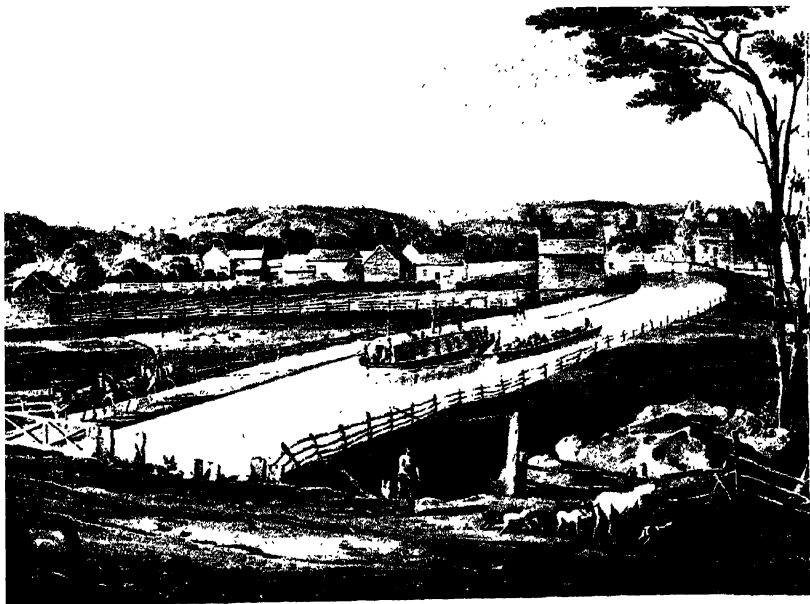
HENRY CLAY
(1777-1852)



JOHN CALHOUN
(1782-1850)

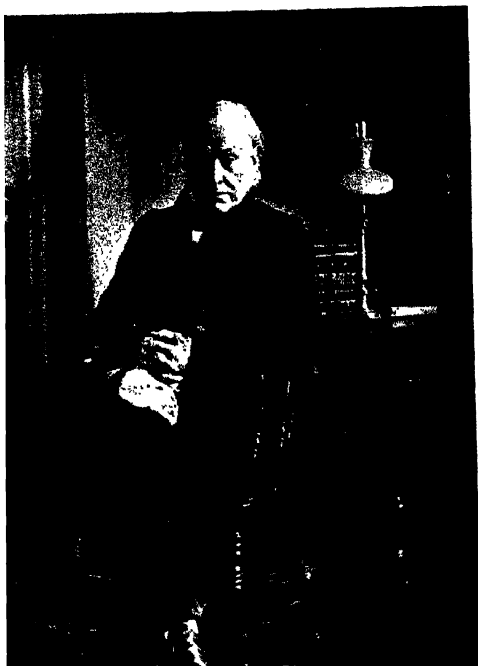


FAIRVIEW INN, BALTIMORE



THE ERIE CANAL

Completed in 1825, this canal was the greatest in the world. It joined Lake Erie (just above Niagara Falls) to Albany on the Hudson River—a distance of 363 miles. It enabled New York city to become the greatest in America.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
(1768-1848)

This daguerreotype portrait, taken in 1847, was one of the earliest photographs of an American statesman. Adams was the sixth President of the United States.

Jacksonians also said that the House ought to have elected Jackson because he had the largest vote in the electoral college, and that in not doing so the House had violated the spirit of the Constitution. But this cry was as mistaken as the other; if the authors of the Constitution had intended that the House should simply follow the lead of the electoral college, they would not have remitted the decision to the House at all.

John Quincy Adams had a distinguished career before his presidency and another distinguished career after it, but his four years' presidency (1825-29) was overshadowed by its unfortunate start and proved a failure. Perhaps he was not in any case the man for the job. Very able, very honest, very learned and incredibly industrious, he was entirely devoid of the arts of popularity which oil the wheels of the political machine.

The only notable event of these four years was the tariff of 1828. We have seen how, in 1816, a protective tariff had been introduced with the support of the southern and middle states but opposed by New England. Since then the position had changed. New England had been converted to protection, for the manufacturers, especially of cotton and woollen goods, had grown more powerful than the shipping interests, but the South wanted to go back to free trade. The southerners realized that they would never succeed in establishing cotton manufactures in their own states; they must be content to live by exporting raw cotton to be manufactured elsewhere, mostly in England. Tariffs, by discouraging imports, tend to discourage also the exports which, in the long run, pay for the imports. The South, exporting much and buying her requirements from elsewhere within the Union, regarded tariffs as a device for subsidizing the North at the expense of the South. But the North had their way, and the tariff was raised and applied to a longer list of articles in 1824. The 1828 tariff carried the process much further and was denounced by Calhoun, the leader of South Carolina, as a 'tariff of abominations'.

As soon as Adams became president over Jackson's head the Jackson party began to prepare for their revenge in the 1828 election, while Adams got on with his work and left public opinion, which he despised, to look after itself—not the way to succeed in the kind of democracy that the United States was now becoming. Jackson was the hero of the growing west and of large areas of the south. His chief supporter in the north was Martin Van Buren, an artful politician of New York, the first

perhaps of the type Americans call 'machine politicians', professional manipulators of public opinion. Van Buren was the first but far from the last of the 'king-makers' of American politics, who have expected the 'king' they have made to eat out of their hands after his election. Sometimes their hopes have been gratified, as on the whole they were in Van Buren's case: sometimes bitterly disappointed. Jackson would probably have been elected in any case; with Van Buren's support his success was certain. He secured all or most of the votes of the electoral college in nearly every state outside New England.

When the aged Jefferson heard of Jackson's candidature in 1824 he had said: 'I feel very much alarmed at the prospect of seeing General Jackson president. He is one of the most unfit men I know of for such a place. He has very little respect for the laws and constitution . . . he is a dangerous man.' Jefferson would have been confirmed in this view if he had witnessed Jackson's inauguration in 1829. Never had such crowds flocked to Washington. The new president, after taking the inaugural oath at the Capitol, rode on horseback to the White House at the head of a mob of his supporters. 'Since it would have been unbecoming for democracy's chieftain to make distinctions of persons, the White House was invaded by a crowd of men, women and children who stood on chairs in their muddy boots, fought for the refreshments, and trod glass and porcelain underfoot. . . . Jackson was glad to escape by a window; and the mob was finally drawn off like flies to honey by tubs of punch being placed on the lawn. Washington society thought of the sack of the Tuileries in the French Revolution and shuddered.'* A hostile observer compared it with the sack of Rome by the Goths.

Jackson proved in many respects a good president, but he was a new type of president. Hitherto presidents since Washington had been, in spite of the constitutional difference in their position, not unlike British prime ministers. They had been men of culture and good social position who had won their way to the presidency by distinguished public service of a political character. Though the presidency excluded them from Congress they had served in Congress and understood its ways. Jackson's brief and remote experience of Congress had taught him to regard professional politicians with distrust and contempt; he regarded them as a

* Quoted from S. E. Morison, *Oxford History of the United States*. Every American history contains a similar description.

sub-section of the rich and he did not think well of the rich. He regarded himself as a plain man, and the elected representative of the plain men who made up the greater part of the population. His enemies were soon caricaturing him with a crown on his head as 'King Andrew I'. But if he showed some tendencies towards popular dictatorship he was altogether a democrat. Jefferson had been a democrat on paper who assumed that the people would prefer to be ruled by educated gentlemen like himself. Jackson was democracy personified, and he did not regard the distinction between gentlemen and others as a distinction of any value.

It is commonly said that Jackson introduced what is called the spoils system. We in England have become so accustomed to the idea of a professional civil service, entirely outside party politics, that we can scarcely imagine a system in which not only the high officials who administer the departments of the central government under the direction of cabinet ministers but also thousands of local postmasters and the like are displaced in favour of their political rivals every time the presidency passes from one party to another. Yet so it was to be in the United States throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. Jackson began it, getting rid of large numbers of office-holders, either because they were old and incompetent, or because they were regarded as 'Adams' men', or in order to make room for his own supporters. Jackson also held that it was 'democratic' to bring new men into public office, so that all, or as many as possible, might have their share of it. In this he followed the example of the ancient Athenians, the first great exemplars of democracy, who distributed public offices afresh by lot every year. But his proceedings in this direction were moderate compared with what became customary under his successors.

The first notable incident of the new presidency was the affair of Peggy O'Neil, who is variously described as a Washington barmaid and as the daughter of a boarding-house keeper. Senator Eaton of Tennessee was an old friend of Jackson's, and Jackson proposed to appoint him to an office in his cabinet. Eaton informed Jackson that he was about to marry the said Peggy and asked if he had any objection, and Jackson, being a real democrat, had no objection whatever. Unfortunately the wives of the other cabinet ministers and leading politicians took a different view, and established a strict boycott of Mrs. Eaton, nominally on the ground that she was a notoriously immoral

woman but actually, no doubt, because they did not regard her as a lady, the lead in this movement being taken by Mrs. Calhoun, the wife of the vice-president, who undoubtedly hoped to be Jackson's right-hand man and successor. Only Van Buren and the British ambassador, being unencumbered with wives, treated themselves to the pleasures of Mrs. Eaton's society, and found her not only very pretty (on that point there seems to have been general agreement), but also charming, intelligent and virtuous. Jackson championed Mrs. Eaton as a matter of principle and with chivalrous enthusiasm, and the 'Eaton malaria' (as it was strangely called) proved something more than a comedy without consequences; for Calhoun dropped out of the running for the presidency and became the champion of South Carolina against the Federal government, Van Buren became Jackson's chosen successor, and Great Britain was treated with more friendliness by Jackson's government than by that of any previous nineteenth-century president. Eaton was afterwards appointed American minister at Madrid, where Mrs. Eaton proved a great success, becoming the personal friend of Queen Isabella of Spain, who also had the misfortune to be regarded in some quarters as an immoral woman.

When the 'tariff of abominations' became law Calhoun composed a document which was accepted by the legislature of his state and is commonly called the South Carolina Exposition. In this he revived the doctrine of 'nullification' as expressed by Jefferson in the Kentucky resolutions of 1798. The United States Constitution was, said Calhoun, a compact between sovereign states, who retained their sovereignty. If any state was opposed to any act of the Federal authority it was entitled to prevent its enforcement within its own borders. Obviously the application of this principle to a tariff would have consequences far beyond the 'nullifying' state. If, for example, Great Britain could pass in free through Charleston, the port of South Carolina, goods which had to pay a duty at other American ports, such goods would be sent to Charleston rather than elsewhere. Two years later (1830), the issue came up in the Senate, where Hayne, who was simply a mouthpiece of Calhoun, elaborated the nullifiers' theory. He was answered, in a speech lasting two days, by Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, traditionally regarded as the greatest orator among American statesmen. Webster made the point that the introductory paragraph of the Constitution opens with the words: 'We, the *people* of the United States,' and deduced therefrom the

argument that the Union was not accepted by the states as sovereign bodies but by the whole sovereign people. History does not support this view; the orator was on firmer ground when he appealed to the manifold blessings of the Union and the disasters that would follow its rupture. 'It is to that Union,' he said, 'that we owe our safety at home and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country.' The speech became at once the classic statement of the case against secession. It was read with approval in the backwoods of Illinois by young Abraham Lincoln, who thirty years later was to save on the battlefield what Webster had defended in the Senate.

But Calhoun would not admit defeat as yet. It was supposed that Jackson was a 'states' rights' man and he was invited to a dinner in honour of his birthday at which it was hoped that he might be inveigled into supporting the doctrine of nullification. It was the custom apparently at such dinners that each speaker should propose a toast of his own choice. To the horror of his hosts the president arose and, looking straight at Calhoun, proposed 'Our Federal Union—it must be preserved'.

For two years the controversy slumbered, but in 1832 a new tariff bill was introduced retaining most of the objectionable features, from the southern standpoint, of the tariff of 1828. Thereupon the South Carolina legislature summoned a state convention which declared the new tariff to be 'unauthorized by the Constitution . . . null and void', and forbade Federal officials to collect customs duties within the state after February 1st, 1833. Acts were passed for the raising of troops and the purchase of arms. Jackson replied with a proclamation flatly denying the right of nullification. The other southern states hesitated to follow the lead of South Carolina, and resolutions in support of the president flowed in from all parts of the Union. South Carolina climbed down and withdrew her nullifying resolution. Meanwhile Clay, the principal author of the tariff, secured certain amendments which enabled Calhoun and his followers to save their face, and to claim that they had secured their purpose. These amendments involved progressive reductions of the tariff extending over ten years, and indeed the next thirty years witnessed a steady movement in the direction of freer trade, coincident with the movement which established complete free trade in Great Britain.

Jackson held that the tariff was merely a pretext for an exploration of the possibilities of secession; that South Carolina gave way only because the other southern states refused to follow her lead; and that defiance of the Union would be tried again, probably in connexion with the slavery question. In this forecast he proved right.

Meanwhile Jackson had been re-elected to a second term of office. He had become a popular hero, comparable in prestige with Washington and Jefferson a generation earlier. His nickname, Old Hickory, is evidence of the affection he inspired. The opposition was furnished by a new party calling themselves the Whigs, who put up Clay as their candidate. 'Whig' had been a popular term identified with the American revolution, when the Loyalists (supporters of the British connexion) were called Tories. The Whigs in Great Britain had also been traditionally the supporters of parliamentary authority against royal prerogative, and the American Whigs professed to champion what was called congressional government against the despotic methods of 'King Andrew'. They were essentially a middle-class party, and it may be said of their history during the next twenty years that they never secured success except when they abandoned their principles.

The rest of Jackson's presidency is filled with his warfare on the United States Bank, which had been re-established in 1816 for twenty years. Opposition to 'the Bank' was part of the tradition of Jeffersonian democracy. Jackson had early in life been unfortunate in his dealings with banks and he was the kind of man that tends to regard banks as financial blood-suckers operated by the rich for the benefit of the rich. He probably did not really understand the difficult points involved in any argument about banking and he certainly did not realize that the abolition of the United States Bank would leave other banks with greater opportunities for 'blood-sucking' than they already enjoyed. It seems that there were objectionable features in the powers and practice of the U.S. Bank in Jackson's day and that the right course would have been to reform it, bringing it more into line with the Bank of England. But Jackson did not want reform; he wanted abolition; and many simple folk agreed with him. The opposition to the Bank was essentially part of the movement of the growing West against the capitalist domination of the eastern cities. Westerners held that their local banks kept the money in their own districts provided there was no central bank to impoverish them. They

did not realize, what is well understood to-day, that big banks are, or should be, safe banks, and that small banks are liable to collapse in periods of bad trade, just when they are most wanted. America remained a country of small banks right down to modern times with the result that, in the 'great slump' of 1929 onwards, American banks collapsed by the dozen whereas the 'big five' of Great Britain stood firm against all shocks.

Knowing Jackson's views the supporters of the bank, very unwisely, took the offensive. In 1832, four years before it was due, they carried through Congress a bill renewing the bank's charter. Jackson vetoed the bill in a message to Congress which has been described as 'in logic puerile, in economics contemptible, but as an appeal to the people irresistible'.* The Whigs championed the bank in the presidential election which followed, and by their defeat gave Jackson a clear mandate to go ahead. Though the bank had three years' life in it Jackson withdrew all Federal deposits from 'the expiring monster' and distributed them among 'pet banks' of his own choice.

VAN BUREN, HARRISON AND TYLER 1837-45

Van Buren succeeded Jackson almost by nomination, much as Madison had succeeded Jefferson, but his presidency proved unfortunate, for it coincided with one of those severe slumps which interrupt from time to time the onward march of American prosperity. Prosperity provokes over-confidence and rash speculation; over-optimistic hopes are not realized and bankruptcies follow; trade slackens; wage-earners lose their jobs. Many unemployed were starved or frozen to death in New York in the unusually severe winter of 1838-39. Such periods of bad trade are hardly ever confined to one country. Van Buren became president in the year of Victoria's accession, and the first years of her reign were marked by deep industrial distress, producing the Chartist riots of 1839 and the Anti-Corn Law League.

Governments always gain credit when things go well and lose credit when things go badly, however little responsibility they may bear for either good or evil fortune in economic matters, and Van Buren's chances of re-election in 1840 were poor. But the Whigs were determined to leave nothing to chance. Though professedly the anti-Jackson party they sought out and discovered

* Morison, *Oxford History of the United States*.

as their presidential candidate a man wholly unacquainted with politics whose only merit was that a kind of 'heroic' legend of the Jackson type might be woven around him. This was General William Harrison, an old gentleman who had smashed up an Indian encampment at Tippecanoe thirty years before. Though Harrison had lived in fairly comfortable circumstances the legend related that his home was a log cabin in the backwoods and his only drink hard cider. Jackson, whatever his faults, had been a real 'hero' and would have been a notable figure even though he had never stood for the presidency at all. Harrison was a sham 'hero' invented by political salesmanship, for no ordinary person in 1840 knew or cared anything about the battle of Tippecanoe, and the rest of the story was simply electioneering eyewash. But 'good old Tippecanoe', log cabins and hard cider, made up the programme of the Whig party in 1840:—"Tippecanoe and Tyler too", for Tyler of Virginia was the party candidate for the vice-presidency. Here we see what we saw in the case of Jefferson and Burr in the 1800 election; it is also illustrated by the selection of Calhoun of South Carolina to be the vice-presidential candidate with Jackson in 1828 and Van Buren of New York to replace Calhoun in 1832—the geographical distribution of the candidates. Since Harrison was from the north-west he was provided with a colleague from Virginia to attract southern votes to the party. "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" were elected.

Only a very learned historian could recite from memory the list of the vice-presidents of the United States. Tyler would be remembered on account of the ridiculous slogan that includes his name, but he is remembered also for another reason; he was the first vice-president to take the president's place, for Harrison died a month after his accession to office, and Tyler reigned in his stead. This was a result the Whig party managers had not foreseen and, extraordinary as it must seem, they seem to have taken no steps to discover Tyler's political opinions. They had regarded both Harrison and Tyler as vote-catching dummies and had assumed that, in return for the offices which they had done nothing to deserve, they would do whatever the real leaders of the party, and in particular Clay, told them to do. Harrison might have played this part but Tyler entirely refused to do so. He proved a dummy with a will of his own and a great capacity for saying 'no'. He vetoed bill after bill which had been carried through Congress by Whig majorities. Clay stood for what he called the 'American system', the financing of national improve-

ments in transport and the endowment of education in western territories out of the profits of the tariff and the sale of western land allotments. Tyler would have nothing to do with this. Most of his Whig ministers resigned and he replaced them with others who were not Whigs at all. So far as the Whig party was concerned their victory of 1840 was wasted, as perhaps it deserved to be.

During these years a change had taken place in the method by which candidates for the presidency were selected. The Constitution gave no guidance on this subject, but down to 1820 they were selected by party groups, called *Caucuses*,* formed among the members of Congress. The four candidates of 1824 were nominated in the first instance by the legislatures of their own states and Jackson and Adams were so nominated in 1828. In 1832 the rival parties, Democrat and Whig, held what were called *Conventions*, elected by the party representatives in the various states and meeting at any suitable city that might be selected. These conventions were simply organs for choosing presidential and vice-presidential candidates, and for framing electoral programmes. The system has lasted to this day. In 1840 it was still in its infancy, but it rapidly developed its essential characteristics. In its up-to-date form Harold Laski describes it as follows in his book on *The American Presidency* :

'An American presidential convention is like nothing else in the civilized world, and the critics of the system—which in its modern form is just a hundred years old—have exhausted the language of vituperation in attack upon its character. The power of money; the persuasive power of hidden and corrupt influence; the undue authority of the "doubtful" state; the open or hidden prejudice against particular types of candidate, as, for instance, members of the Roman Catholic Church; the "deals" which accompany the capture of a delegation for one candidate against another; the casual influence, notable in the case of Lincoln's selection, of the choice of the convention city; the undue impact, as in the Democratic convention of 1896, of a single speech by a potential nominee;† the operation of the technique of the "dark horse" candidate; the exploitation of the "stalking horse", behind which some well-organized group has its carefully prepared selection, whose name is put forward at the right moment; and finally the raucous, complex, and hectic atmosphere of the convention itself; its well-improvised enthusiasms, its fantastic horse-

* This slang term of American politics took the fancy of Lewis Carroll and is introduced into *Alice in Wonderland*.

† See page 198.

play, its immunity from thought, its wild rumours, its incredible conspiracies—all these characteristics seem to the European outsider about the worst possible way of choosing a man to occupy the highest executive post in a democratic commonwealth.'

In fact, a British prime minister reaches his position as the result of a long public career passed under the close scrutiny of his equals in parliament; an American president is one of two candidates chosen in the manner above described and, since the present system of conventions started, the choice of nominating conventions has generally fallen on a man who has not previously held cabinet office. Sometimes the American system has picked presidents who proved themselves the equals of the greatest British prime ministers; sometimes it has picked men intellectually or morally contemptible. Certainly conventions of the hundred years following the establishment of the system did not usually look for greatness in their choices but for what was called 'availability', which meant capacity to secure votes, and (very often) a previous career obscure enough to ensure that they had not antagonized in advance any important section of the party.

Anglo-American relations had been friendly throughout Jackson's presidency, and this was fortunate because difficult questions affecting the two countries arose immediately after his retirement. In 1837 there were rebellions of the discontented elements, French and British, in the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada.* There were still many Americans who regarded the continued existence of British colonies on their northern frontier as an offensive absurdity, bound to end in due course and therefore the sooner the better. Mackenzie, the leader of the rebels in Upper Canada, enlisted volunteers from the American side of the St. Lawrence frontier, and the rebels received supplies in an American steamer called the *Caroline* across the river which connects Lakes Erie and Ontario. On a December night, 1837, a picked band of Canadian government troops crossed the river and burnt the *Caroline* in American waters. The laws of neutrality had obviously been broken on both sides, and the British and American governments proceeded to argue with one another in a

* Corresponding to the present-day provinces of Ontario and Quebec. There was no 'Dominion of Canada' stretching from Atlantic to Pacific till thirty years later. These rebellions, easily subdued, led to the production of the Durham Report, which laid down the general principles of the dominion self-government system.

friendly and leisurely manner for three years, until in 1840 a drunken Canadian sailor in a New York tavern declared that he had taken part in the burning of the *Caroline* and had killed an American in the course of the affray, and was thereupon arrested on a charge of murder.

This seems to have proved the proverbial last straw in breaking the back of the patience of Lord Palmerston, the British foreign secretary. He wrote a despatch to the British ambassador at Washington declaring that the execution of McLeod (the drunken sailor) would mean 'war, immediate and frightful in its character'. However, two fortunate circumstances intervened. A British general election removed Palmerston from office and substituted the more pacific Lord Aberdeen; and the drunken sailor, who had never been within a hundred miles of the *Caroline*, was able when sober to produce a convincing alibi.

There were other grievances. During the slump of Van Buren's presidency some of the states had repudiated their debts, thereby causing loss to British investors; and the British government held that the American government was responsible for the conduct of its states in this matter,—and that if it was not responsible according to the terms of the American Constitution, it ought to be. Also American shippers were continually engaged in smuggling slaves across the Atlantic from Africa through the British naval patrols, in spite of the American prohibition of the slave trade. On these points no satisfaction was secured. Illegal American slave trading ended only with the abolition of American slavery.

There was also a sixty years old boundary dispute as to the exact location of the frontier between British territory and the state of Maine, i.e., a question of the width of the strip of British territory south of the St. Lawrence estuary which connected Lower Canada with the British colony of New Brunswick. The authors of the treaty of 1783 which recognized American independence had had only hazy ideas of the geography of these regions and no one could say for certain what the terms of the treaty implied. In 1838 frontier incidents culminated in the 'Aristook war'—in which, however, no one was killed or injured! Aberdeen sent Lord Ashburton to negotiate a settlement with Daniel Webster, who had consented to retain the office of Secretary of State under the distasteful Tyler in order to get the question settled. The Webster-Ashburton treaty agreed on a 'fifty-fifty' compromise. The Senate might have refused to ratify

it; but at the opportune moment an American historian discovered in Paris and sent to Webster a map dating from 1783 and supposed to have been drawn by the American negotiators, which recognized the whole of the British claim. To complete the comedy, the Director of the British Museum discovered and presented to the Foreign Office another map drawn by a British negotiator which recognized the whole of the American claim. Happily neither side knew of the existence of the map in the other's possession.

Another and much larger frontier question was about due for settlement, namely the division between Canada and the United States of the Oregon territory between the Rocky mountains and the Pacific coast. It will be described in the last section of this chapter.

For an Englishman one of the most important parts of American history is the history of Anglo-American relations, meaning by that term not only the diplomatic relations of the British and American governments but also the feelings about each other entertained by the two great English-speaking peoples.

In 1842, Charles Dickens arrived in America on a six months' visit. He was only thirty at the time, but he was already, with *Pickwick*, *Oliver Twist*, *Nicholas Nickleby* and *The Old Curiosity Shop* to his credit, the most popular novelist in the world. He crossed by steamer, the voyage taking fourteen days from Liverpool to Halifax, Nova Scotia, and returned by preference under sail. While in America he visited Boston and other places in New England, New York, Philadelphia, Washington and Richmond. He then travelled by rail, road and canal to Pittsburg and thence by Ohio and Mississippi to St. Louis. His reception everywhere was the biggest thing of its kind since the visit of Lafayette eighteen years before: he was overwhelmed with hospitality, public and private. On his return he wrote an account of his adventures under the title of *American Notes*. It is a very readable though not a particularly good book, for Dickens lacked the historical knowledge needed to make him a sympathetic observer of America in her growing pains. The main body of the book is full of complimentary remarks. It is true he dislikes the American fondness for tobacco-chewing and the constant spitting thereby entailed; he also speaks disrespectfully of the Mississippi, but he praises the hospitals and the asylums of America, and the good treatment of women factory workers in New England is sharply contrasted

with that prevailing in Lancashire. It was the two concluding chapters of the book which caused the trouble. The first is an attack on slavery in the best Abolitionist style; the slave-owners are described as 'a miserable aristocracy spawned by a false republic'—strong stuff, but not more than might have been expected. The last chapter criticizes Americans in general for political instability and commercial dishonesty and traces most of their faults to the scandalous and libellous character of the American press.

Having finished his *American Notes* Dickens started on his next novel which, like most of his other novels, was issued in monthly parts. When only four parts had appeared he heard that *American Notes* had been given a hostile reception in the American press. He at once decided on reprisals and in the next monthly issue the hero of the novel decides to seek his fortune across the Atlantic. The American chapters of *Martin Chuzzlewit* are extremely amusing, but there is no doubt that they constitute a studied insult to the American nation from the most popular of British novelists; and since the insult formed a part of a successful novel it was certain of reaching a very wide public.

The principal points that emerge from the story are as follows. American newspapers (such as the *New York Sewer*, the *Family Spy*, and the *Keyhole Reporter*) live on scandal and blackmail. Americans are interested in nothing but money-making; their conversation is all about dollars; they are too busy to read anything except newspapers; they are extremely sensitive to criticism; they are always asking the English visitor what he thinks of their country and, if he does not praise it enough, proceed to fill the gap themselves. They are absurdly prudish—as, for example, Mrs. Hominy, who is offended by the use of that indelicate expression 'the naked eye'. They combine a glorification of a sham equality and a belief in the decadence of the British lion with an absurdly snobbish attitude to British society; Americans who have visited Britain claim, on returning home, that they have lived on terms of intimacy with members of the British aristocracy to whom they have never, in point of fact, been even introduced. The American male suffers from dirty habits, e.g. spitting, and the American female from sham culture as illustrated by assiduous attendance at 'high-brow' lectures. For example, Mrs. Jefferson Brick, the wife of a New York journalist, who attends courses of lectures on five days of the week, the subjects being the philosophy of the soul, the philosophy of

crime, the philosophy of vegetables, the philosophy of government, and the philosophy of matter.

The principal adventure of Martin Chuzzlewit in America is his purchase, at an exorbitant price, of a 'location' in a non-existent 'city' on the Mississippi on the strength of the fraudulent representations of the agent of an emigration company; his visit to this malarious swamp, and his narrow escape from death there. In the novel it is called New Eden, but its real name was Cairo, at the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi. Dickens had seen the mouldering remains of this unsuccessful venture on his inland voyage, and no doubt felt a melancholy interest in the spectacle, for he had himself invested and lost money in the Cairo company. Cairo was refounded under better management and with better results some ten years later.

The American public seem to have accepted the crude and ferocious, but rollicking and high-spirited, satire of the novel more good-humouredly than the more measured criticisms of *American Notes*. In a preface to a later edition of the novel Dickens offered a mixture of defence and apology for what he had written, saying that he had selected for treatment only the laughable features of American society and that in any case he was describing not the America of 1842, the date of his visit, but the America of twenty-four years earlier. This latter plea can have deceived no one, if only by reason of the fact that Martin travels by train, and there were no railways in America in 1818. If Dickens needed an excuse for his anti-Americanism he could have found it in what was no doubt one of its principal causes. At that date, and indeed right down to 1890, American law gave no rights of property to foreign authors, and American publishers freely availed themselves of this freedom to issue, with or without such alterations as seemed good to them, 'pirated' editions of foreign books from which the authors drew no profit. Popular British authors were naturally the chief sufferers from this form of robbery. During his visit Dickens had organized a petition to Congress on this subject, but it had received no attention. He had even been told that to be read by the American public was so great an honour for a British author that he could not reasonably expect to receive payment as well.

Whatever one may think of the rights and wrongs of Dickens' contribution to Anglo-American ill-feeling his work in both the books, and more particularly perhaps in the more moderate *American Notes*, illustrates the fundamental fault in the British

attitude to America then and long afterwards. Dickens writes in a condescending style; he treats America too much as Swift treated Lilliput. He writes of the Americans as curious animals who have failed to be what English-speaking people ought to be; they have fallen short of the proper standards, which are British standards. Of course, over and above such minor failings as expectoration and scurrilous newspapers, there was the slavery question. So long as America tolerated slavery Britain would think ill of America. So long as Britain misgoverned Ireland, America, with an Irish population which grew rapidly after the Irish potato famine of 1845, would think ill of Britain. The first cause of ill-feeling was removed in 1863; the second not till 1921.

Eleven years before Dickens, another visitor from Europe had travelled extensively all over the United States and after his return had written a book. This was Alexis de Tocqueville, one of the profoundest students of human nature in politics, and his book, *Democracy in America*, was the first serious attempt to interpret American society to European readers. At that date the United States was the only completely democratic community of any importance in the world. France had attempted democracy in her first revolution but had achieved only a blood-stained failure. Britain, by the Reform Bill of 1832, had taken only a first cautious step towards the democratization of her parliament. Tocqueville, however, foresaw that the nations of western Europe were all of them bound to become democracies in the course of the next hundred years, and he held that the change might bring with it much good and also much evil. He realized that the control of government by the numerical majority of its subjects (which is what democracy is) would be favourable to the establishment of social equality but not necessarily favourable to the maintenance of liberty. Ignorant and enthusiastic majorities might establish dictatorships as easily as free parliaments. He set himself to study America not only, or mainly, because the subject was interesting in itself but because American society offered examples of the problems that would in due course confront the societies of Europe.

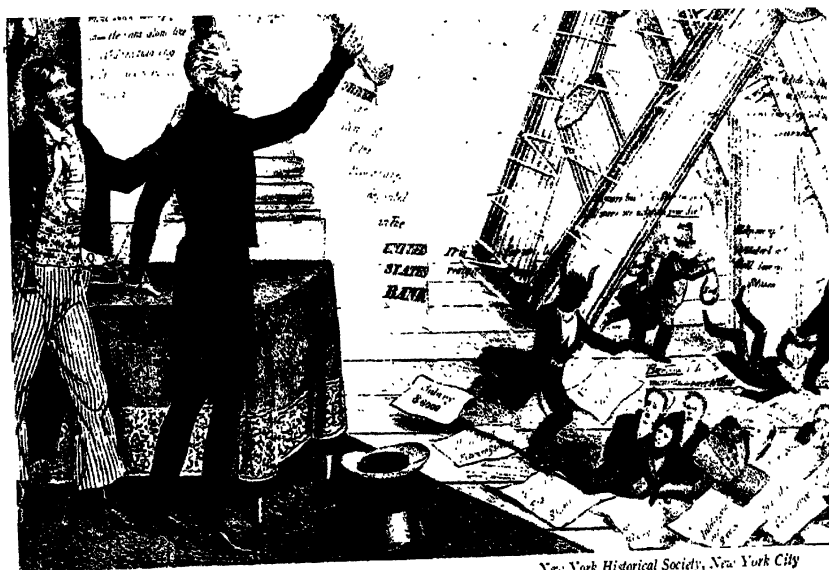
Though the book contained some forecasts which proved mistaken it will always rank among the few really great books written by Europeans about America. Tocqueville found much to criticize but more to admire, and among the subjects of his admiration was the position accorded to women in American

society. American women, he found, received a better education and enjoyed a wider freedom, mental and physical, than the women of any other country in the world, and fully justified their advantages. Morality was higher and marriages on the average happier than elsewhere. He writes: 'If I were asked to what the singular prosperity and growing strength of the American people ought to be mainly attributed, I should reply, to the superiority of their women.'

NORTH, SOUTH AND WEST

Population, adding a third to its previous numbers every ten years, reached 13,000,000 in 1830, of whom 4,000,000 were beyond the Appalachian mountains. It was natural that every ten years the enormous plains watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries should contain an increasing fraction of the whole population. In the long run, in spite of the development of New York and a few other cities of the north-east, the 'middle west' would easily overtop the population of the original thirteen states. What was less inevitable, or less recognized to be so, was that the North as a whole, the 'free soil' area, should draw ahead of the South. Yet so it was. At the time of the Union north and south had been equally balanced in population, with Virginia well ahead of any single northern state; but in 1830 over 7,000,000 lived in the free states and territories and less than 5,500,000 in the south, of whom 2,000,000 were negroes. By 1860 this process of change had gone much further. The population would then be 31,500,000, of whom 19,000,000 were in the north, leaving only 12,500,000 for the south, of whom 4,000,000 were negroes.

The cause of the change was in part immigration, now beginning to make a substantial contribution to the population. In the 'twenties immigrants were less than ten thousand a year, but in the 'thirties they amounted to 600,000, in the 'forties to 1,700,000, and in the 'fifties to 2,600,000. Less than a quarter of these immigrants were British (English, Scotch and Welsh); the bulk were divided fairly equally between Irish and Germans. The Germans mostly went to the farming country of the north-west where they helped to populate what became the states of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, with a nucleus in Chicago which, a small village of 350 inhabitants in 1833, was close on 100,000 in 1860. The Irish mostly settled in the cities of the north-east, unpopular by reason of their turbulence and their Roman Catholic faith



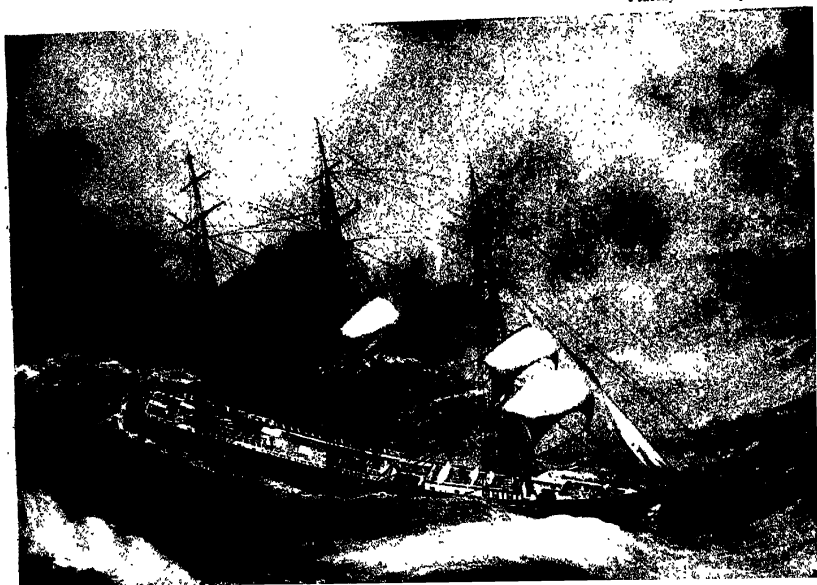
New York Historical Society, New York City

'THE DOWNFALL OF MOTHER BANK'

A cartoon of 1833, showing the effect of Jackson's removal of the Government's deposits from the Bank of the United States. The governor, 'Nick' Biddle (*with horns*), scurries for his life. Jack Downing (*left*), symbolizing the people, hurrahs.

THE CLIPPER SHIP 'RINGLEADER' rounding Cape Horn.

Peabody Museum of Salem

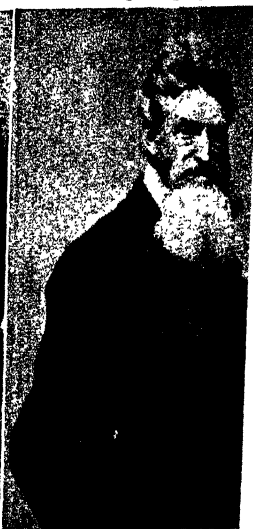




CALIFORNIA GOLD DIGGERS. Gold was found in Sacramento in 1848. The picture shows 'forty-niners' of the world's first gold rush panning for the precious metal.

MISSOURI 'BORDER RUFFIANS' on their way to Kansas, 1855. These 3,000 slavery-men took charge of the Kansas polls, elected a pro-slavery legislature, then returned to Missouri.

JOHN BROWN (1800-1859)
A photograph.



but useful to industry as a supply of cheap labour. But wherever the overflows of European poverty and misgovernment might go, they did not go in any large numbers to the states where they would find themselves in competition with negro slave labour. These population figures are politically important, for they created in southern minds the feeling that the balance of power between North and South, so carefully preserved in the Missouri compromise by the admission of Maine as a new free state to balance the acceptance of slavery in Missouri, would in the long run be upset in favour of the North; that the North would rule the future destinies of the Union. This was to be the fundamental cause of the secession and the Civil War.

But in the meantime 'King Cotton' continued to expand his territories, and his output. South Carolina early lost her primacy in cotton production to the Gulf states, Alabama and Mississippi, just as Virginia lost her primacy in tobacco production to Kentucky. Out beyond the cotton kingdom were the sugar plantations of Louisiana. But cotton was far and away the chief product of the South and the chief export of the whole Union. The supply grew to meet the ever-increasing demand of Manchester, and of other lesser Manchesters elsewhere—in New England, for example. The output of 1820 was doubled by 1830, and the 1830 output was multiplied sevenfold by 1860. Negro labour was perhaps necessary to cotton production but slave negro labour was not. This has been proved by subsequent history. The emancipation of the slaves has not destroyed, probably in the long run it has benefited, the cotton industry; but not one American southerner in a hundred would have believed this in the 1830-60 period, whether he owned slaves or not; and it must always be remembered that the majority of southern whites never owned a slave or expected to do so. Their belief in slavery as an industrial system was no doubt influenced by their belief in its necessity as a social system. Black men and white were in occupation of a single stretch of country; nothing could alter that. The abolition of slavery seemed tantamount to a recognition of social and political equality and the acceptance of the black third of the population as fellow citizens. Against this idea the southerner rebelled—not because he disliked the negroes; as a rule southern planters liked their negroes as they liked their dogs and horses, and took as good care of them as any sensible man takes of his property. The southerner rebelled against the idea because he did not regard the negro as a 'man'

in the sense implied in the Declaration of Independence, where it says 'All men are created equal, and are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights . . . life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness'.

But while slavery flourished and expanded in a relatively small area of the North American continent, the attitude of the rest of the civilized world to slavery underwent a drastic change. Humanitarianism was the spirit of the age; it had become for most Protestant churches the essential idea of the Christian religion, and to the nineteenth century humanitarian, slavery, whatever its economic necessity, however kindly the relations of master and slave, was absolutely wrong. In 1833 the new spirit secured one of its most striking triumphs in the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire. Other civilized countries with slave colonies were moving, or had moved, in the same direction. Even Mexico abolished slavery—on paper. Forty years earlier, at the time of the Union, the whole civilized world, outside a few small groups of humanitarian agitators, had accepted the enslavement of subject populations in tropical countries as part of the world order, much as we now accept inequalities of income between rich and poor. Before the middle of the nineteenth century slavery was gone, or going, wherever the flag of any really civilized country flew, except in the U.S.A. Americans in touch with the outside world, as the northerners were and the southerners on the whole were not, were beginning to find their country in a class with the Portuguese and the Arabs, so far as this question was concerned.

There had been since the early years of the century a certain amount of propaganda in the North for the abolition of slavery, but it was mild in character and attracted little attention until William Lloyd Garrison of Boston founded a periodical called the *Liberator* in 1831. In his first number Garrison wrote, 'I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population. On this subject I do not wish to write or speak or think with moderation . . . and *I will be heard*.' Later he denounced the Union which made the North morally responsible for the sins of the South as 'a compact with death and an agreement with hell' and recommended that it should be 'immediately annulled'—though this would not have liberated a single slave. Modern broad-minded historians have many hard things to say about Garrison and his disciples. It is true that blind unreasoning hatred of the slave-owner as a man of sin was quite as conspicuous

in his writings as Christian love for the slave. He took no account of the complexities of the problem, and entirely failed to realize, it seems, that the mere abolition of slavery would not in itself solve the problem of the relationship between the black and white races. But he was an untiring and completely unselfish fanatic, advocating a cause that for many years was almost as unpopular in the North as in the South; for the average northerner cared nothing for the alleged woes of 'niggers' and wished the uncomfortable slavery question to be left alone. This was the view of the professional politicians, both Whig and Democrat. Both parties did their best to keep the slavery question out of their programmes and thus secure support in both halves of the Union. But the number of those who were determined to get slavery abolished somehow or other slowly grew. J. G. Birney, an Alabama slave-owner who had sold his slaves, stood as an abolitionist candidate for the presidency in 1840 and 1844 and on the latter occasion polled 62,000 votes—a small vote no doubt when each of the regular candidates scored over a million.

One resource of the abolitionists was to present petitions to Congress. These petitions provoked such embarrassing debates that the House passed a rule that petitions on this subject should be neither printed nor debated upon. On this point the abolitionists found a doughty champion who was not an abolitionist at all but a champion of free speech. After his defeat in 1828 John Quincy Adams had been invited by the Plymouth district of Massachusetts to stand as their candidate for the House. He consented on two conditions: that he should not be expected to canvass for their votes and that when in the House he should be free to take his own line on every question that came up without consulting his constituents. On these remarkable terms the old man was elected and re-elected every two years until his death in 1848 at the age of eighty-one. No other ex-president returned to the rough and tumble of party politics in the House of Representatives. Adams argued year after year for the repeal of the 'gag rule' and secured his object in 1845. His death was like that of the elder Pitt. He fell insensible when rising to speak in debate, and was carried to the Speaker's room, where he died two days later. If fine character, public spirit, brains and energy are the tests of statesmanship, J. Q. Adams should rank above all other American statesmen of the nineteenth century except Lincoln. Up to 1825 he had rendered good service in foreign policy; with better fortune he might have been one of the greatest presidents.

Confronted with the savage attacks of the *Liberator* the leaders of the South proceeded to construct a positive defence of slavery as a necessary bulwark of their civilization. The earliest American writer on these lines seems to have been Thomas Dew, a Virginian who had enjoyed the advantages of education in Germany. His book was published in 1832, a year after the launching of the *Liberator*, but the full doctrine will always be associated with the name of its most powerful exponent, John Caldwell Calhoun. Calhoun held that history proved that no real civilization had ever yet existed in the world except as the production of a leisured aristocracy, maintained either by the labour of slaves, as in ancient Greece and Rome, or of serfs as in medieval Europe, or of a wage-earning working class—what communists a little later called a 'proletariat'—as in modern Europe and in the free states of the North. The rise of working-class agitation showed that it was doubtful whether aristocracy, and consequently civilization, could long be maintained on this last basis. In any case the southern slave-owner's treatment of his slaves could be compared much to its advantage with the northern mill-owners' treatment of the men, women, and children whom he overworked and underpaid in his factories. The Greek philosopher Aristotle had declared that slavery was justified in principle because some men were 'slaves by nature', but that unfortunately many who were not 'slaves by nature' became slaves while many who were 'slaves by nature' had the undeserved good fortune to be free. The leaders of the southern states held that they possessed a black population who were 'slaves by nature' in Aristotle's sense, a population who were actually better off in a condition of slavery than if forced into a freedom for which they would always be unfit.

One of the weaknesses of this argument was that many negro slaves proved, by their pathetic attempts to secure education in their spare time, that, however inferior they might be to their white masters, they were not 'slaves by nature' at all. Such attempts were sternly repressed. In North Carolina, to sell or give a slave any book, even the Bible, was a crime punishable with thirty-nine lashes for a free negro or a fine of 200 dollars for a white man. Any slave attending a school to learn reading or writing, and any free person teaching these arts to slaves, was also liable to punishment. Similar laws were enacted and enforced in the other slave states.

Such, however, was the philosophy of the South,* a philosophy in stark contradiction with the spirit of the age elsewhere. It was an attempt to state in the form of an argument what was for most southerners a matter of sentiment and conviction. The southerner closed his eyes to evils apparent to visitors from elsewhere and firmly believed that the form of society he had grown up with was good; he loved it and was determined to maintain it, slavery and all.

But if slavery might seem to justify itself, economically and socially, in the 'deep South', where cotton was king, and where all the crops, cotton, rice and sugar, were suited to the employment of unskilled and usually lazy slave labour, it was a manifest failure in border states when conditions resembled those of the North. The stock example was the Ohio valley. The Ohio river flows through one of the most fertile valleys in the world and the conditions of soil and climate on the two banks of the river were as similar as on either bank of the Thames; but on the northern bank were free states, Ohio and Indiana, and on the southern bank a slave state, Kentucky. Before the days of railways the Ohio was the regular route to the west, and traveller after traveller remarked upon the contrast between what could be seen on either bank. De Tocqueville made the journey in 1831, and he writes: 'On the left bank the population is rare; from time to time one descries a troop of slaves loitering in half-desert fields; the primeval forest recurs at every turn; society seems to be asleep; man to be idle. From the right bank, on the other hand, a confused hum is heard which proclaims the presence of industry; the fields are covered with abundant harvests, the elegance of the dwellings announces the taste and activity of the labourer, and man appears to be in the enjoyment of that wealth and contentment which is the reward of labour.'

Sixteen years passed after the admission to statehood of Maine and Missouri and then came another pair, one slave and one free—Michigan filling the northern salient between Lakes Michigan and Huron, and Arkansas filling the gap between Louisiana and Missouri. It has been noticed, rather unkindly, that the

* Those who have read Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* may be reminded of it here. Huxley imagines a distant future in which the human race, accepting Calhoun's principle of the necessity of aristocracy and possessing complete control over the conditions of birth, arranges that a suitable percentage of the human race shall be born with slave natures. Actually, in the Huxleian society, five grades of human beings (if they can so be called) are arranged for, roughly corresponding to the different classes that compete so uneasily in an average modern society.

first session of the state legislature of Michigan witnessed the founding of a state university, whereas the first session of the state legislature of Arkansas witnessed a murder, the Speaker descending from his chair and slaying one of the people's representatives with his bowie knife, a long-bladed and very handy knife, taking its name from the Bowie brothers, frontiersmen and slave smugglers of this period, who used it for a variety of purposes.

In the Jackson period the railway first began to play a part in the American transport system. The first sod of what was to be the Baltimore and Ohio railway was cut in 1828 by the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the railway opened in 1833, three years after the Liverpool and Manchester railway. It would be easy and unprofitable to make a list of similar undertakings. On the whole, and owing to the size of the country, the railway system of the United States did not spring to maturity with anything like the rapidity of that of England, where nearly all the main lines of our present-day system were laid down by 1850. Most of the early American lines were not large-scale affairs but radiations, on differing gauges, connecting each city with its immediate environs. Chicago was not connected by rail with New York till 1856. Projects of transcontinental railways played, as will be shown, an important part in the politics of the 'fifties, but the first transcontinental railway was not built till after the Civil War.

Several cities of the regions far inland were already approaching or passing the figures which New York and Philadelphia had attained at the opening of the century. Among such were Pittsburg on the upper waters of the Ohio, the centre of the west Pennsylvanian coalfield; Cleveland, Ohio, the port on Lake Erie; Cincinnati on the Ohio river at the opposite end of the same state, the centre of the pork industry; and St. Louis, Missouri, near the junction of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, once as its name suggests a French trading outpost, and now a principal point of contact between the river steamers and the pioneering settlers out beyond. The railway reached St. Louis in 1850. Chicago has already been mentioned; younger and smaller than its rivals, it was destined to surpass them all.

In the vast, miscellaneous and in the main unorganized movement westwards which is the background of American history all through the nineteenth century a special place belongs to the

adventures of the Mormons. Their story presents not only an example of organized western migration, an 'exodus' under a modern Moses; it also presents an example, though an extremely odd one, of what was happening to religion in America. The old strict puritan tradition, which had been established on American soil by the colonists of the seventeenth century, was beginning to break down. When such a tradition breaks down new developments point in many different directions. As someone has said, there is more than one door by which you can leave church. Some will abandon religion altogether; others will find satisfaction in a new religion unencumbered by church or creed, an idealistic philosophy expressing 'the spirit of the age'. But others again cannot be happy unless they have something hot and strong in the way of religion; having lost the faith of their fathers they will embrace and cling to any superstitious absurdity that comes their way.

One of the shortcomings of history as an account of human experience is that it is seldom able to find room for any of those really absurd characters who, as we learn from novels and films, play so large a part in the affairs of life. Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon religion, was just such a character. As a boy he was 'the champion liar of Palmyra', already mentioned as one of the curiously-named places along the line of the Erie canal. On September 21st, 1823, when Joseph was seventeen, he was visited by an angel called Moroni, who told him where to find a hitherto undiscovered book of divine revelation written in a 'secret' or 'reformed Egyptian' language. The angel also provided him with a pair of magic spectacles, called Urim and Thummim, by means of which he would be able to read the book straight into English. He was to write and publish an English version, and the result was the dreary parody of the Old Testament called the Book of Mormon.

Smith continued to receive revelations, the most striking and popular being a divine blessing on polygamy. God did not require his 'Latter-Day Saints', as the Mormons called themselves, to limit themselves to a single wife. This suited Smith very well, for he was an immoral young man with a considerable gift for attracting women. The Mormon church drew to itself many converts of both sexes, but it was not popular with those who did not belong to it, and the community, a compact and organized body, was driven from New York state to Ohio, from Ohio to Missouri, and from Missouri to Nauvoo in Illinois, which for a

time grew faster than Chicago. Here in 1844 Smith and some of his friends were killed in an encounter with their enemies.

After this Mormonism would probably have disappeared and been quickly forgotten if it had not found a new leader in Brigham Young. Young was beyond doubt a man of great organizing ability, combining, says one of his admirers, the qualities of Cromwell, Machiavelli, Moses and Napoleon. He organized the migration of the persecuted polygamous 'Saints' to a promised land outside U.S.A. territory, in the almost uninhabited northern regions of the Mexican republic. The winter of 1845-6 was spent in preparation for the great trek. Food stores were collected; 10,000 wagons were built; flocks of cattle were assembled. In the next two years 16,000 Mormons, men, women and children, made their way to the Salt Lake valley in what long afterwards became the state of Utah.

It was rather a blow when the Mormon 'promised land', together with all the rest of the northern provinces of Mexico, were annexed by the Union in 1848. But there were compensations. Gold was discovered in California, and Salt Lake City made a modest fortune out of the necessities of the gold-seekers who passed that way in their transcontinental journey. Young continued to rule his people till 1877. Sometimes he was at loggerheads with the Washington government; at other times, on the principle which Henry VII applied to the Earl of Kildare,* he was recognized as the official governor of Utah territory. His sermons, which deal with every subject under the sun, are more readable to-day than any other nineteenth-century American oratory except the speeches of Abraham Lincoln. On his death he left two million dollars, twenty-five wives and forty children. Some years later the Mormons abandoned polygamy on the ground that, though approved by God, it was contrary to the law of the United States. Polygamy had indeed been the only reason why Utah had not long before this secured admission to the Union as a state. It was admitted in 1896, and its constitution contains a special clause forbidding polygamy but otherwise securing the rights of the Mormon Church.

In the period covered by this chapter America produced for the first time a considerable body of what may, for want of a better

* With regard to Kildare, according to tradition, when Henry VII appointed this rebel his Irish viceroy, he remarked: 'As Ireland cannot govern Kildare, Kildare had better govern Ireland.'

term, be called 'good literature'. Washington Irving (1783-1859) travelled widely in Europe where he made many friends; his *Sketchbook* contains the still celebrated 'Rip van Winkle'. Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851) wrote stories of the Indians such as *The Last of the Mohicans* which enjoyed an immense popularity on both sides of the Atlantic; Cooper was regarded as the American Walter Scott. Both these were men of the older generation. The rising group, what we may call the 'Victorians' of American literature—Victorian both in date and in sentiment—were mostly New Englanders. Among these was the poet Longfellow (1807-82), whose easy, melodious and sentimental verses appealed to a large public. He has been called the American Tennyson, though he never rises to the level of Tennyson's best work. His *Hiawatha* is still familiar, partly because it was long afterwards set to music for chorus and orchestra by Coleridge Taylor, a West Indian negro. Emerson (1803-82) lived at Concord, the scene of the first episode of the War of Independence; he was an essayist and what in those days was called a 'prophet', rather on the lines of Carlyle and Ruskin in England, the former of whom was his friend and admirer. His philosophy of transcendentalism satisfied many who had lost belief in the details of the Christian creed but needed an uplifting faith in a friendly universe. Others of the New England group were Whittier, a religious poet, some of whose verses make excellent hymns, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, also represented in the hymn-book, and author of a series of essays entitled *The Autocrat at the Breakfast Table*, which can still be recommended as very readable.

It has been remarked of all these New England writers that, though they had a wide American public, they were essentially 'colonial' in their cast of mind, and their works were, to English readers, much less distinctively American than the products of American genius in our own day. Their world was New England and Europe; they seemed almost unaware of the new America developing out west. The same outlook is shown in the work of most of the American historians of their generation. Motley wrote the history of the Rise of the Dutch Republic, Prescott wrote on Spain and the Spanish conquests of Mexico and Peru. Parkman came nearer home, and devoted himself to a long series of studies of the French Canadian pioneers and the struggle between France and Britain for the North American continent. The first important and detailed History of the United States

was written by Bancroft, the first volume appearing in 1834 and the last forty years later.

Outside New England one of the most notable writers of this period was Edgar Allen Poe (1809-49). He was born in Boston but spent most of his short and unhappy life in Baltimore and New York. His *Tales of Mystery and Imagination* show a streak of genius and a few of his musical, if rather nonsensical, poems are still admired. Herman Melville of New York wrote in 1850 a novel of whaling adventure called *Moby Dick* which, though little noticed in its own day, has been rediscovered in the present century and acclaimed as a masterpiece. But the greatest and most completely original and American of all nineteenth-century authors was Walt Whitman, who invented in his *Leaves of Grass* a new kind of poetry, rhymeless and metreless, but at its best eloquent with an enormous *joie de vivre*. Some of his war poems of the Civil War rank with the best war poetry in any language.

The South produced hardly any literature of note except a few transcriptions of negro songs such as 'Way down upon the Swanee River' and transcriptions of negro tales such as *Uncle Remus*.

TEXAS, OREGON AND CALIFORNIA 1845-50*

On his last day in office, four months after his successor had been elected, President Tyler gave his assent to resolutions of Congress demanding the annexation of Texas, thus concluding a chapter of history that had extended over twenty years.

Texas had been a province of Mexico, beyond the frontier of the Louisiana purchase. John Quincy Adams, when president, had tried to buy it but had been contemptuously rebuffed. Yet the Mexican government, very strangely considering their desire to retain the province, had positively encouraged the immigration of American pioneers. The leader of these pioneers was Stephen Austin who had negotiated, in his private capacity and not as an agent of the American government, the terms of settlement. Against the wishes both of Austin and the Mexican government the settlers had brought slavery with them, but they were a small and orderly community.

In 1835 Santa Anna, an ambitious and unwise man who had risen to power in Mexico, proclaimed the revocation of the terms of settlement Austin had secured. The American settlers (or Texans, as it is convenient to call them) thereupon proclaimed a

* The map illustrating this section is on page 94.

government of their own and expelled the Mexican garrison. Santa Anna invaded the country, massacred a Texan outpost at Alamo, and was soundly defeated by Sam Houston, the Texan leader, at San Jacinto. Texas proclaimed her independence as the 'Lone Star Republic'. President Jackson recognized Texan independence, but when the Texans pressed for incorporation in the Union northerners at once objected to this large extension of slave territory. Southerners for the same reason pressed for it. Texas, they pointed out, was as large as the nine free states of the old north-east all taken together. Some of these states were of course very small, but the territory, if annexed, might quite reasonably provide three or four new states of average size. So the problem of Texas got involved in the slavery politics of the Union and no progress was made for several years.

Meanwhile the Texan settlers' government, still nominally at war with Mexico, made appeals for recognition and protection to the government of Britain. It is very unlikely that the British government had any serious intention of burning its fingers with so flagrant a breach of the Monroe Doctrine, but anti-slavery enthusiasts in Britain may have toyed with the idea of offering Texas protection in return for the abolition of Texan slavery. Anyhow, if the object of the Texans in approaching Britain was to quicken the pace of public opinion in America, they were successful.

In 1844 elections were approaching. The Democratic convention nominated Polk, the first example of a 'dark horse' candidate, for the public knew nothing for or against him; but his programme was explicit enough. He stood for 'the re-occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas'*—expansion north-west and south-west. The Whigs nominated their most famous statesman, Clay, but Clay, always a man of compromise rather than of courage, sounded no clear note, and was defeated. So Tyler felt perfectly safe in annexing Texas before his successor got a chance of doing it.

But Polk and his supporters had other claims in view besides Texas and Oregon; they wanted the whole of northern Mexico, from Texas to the Pacific, the vast and sparsely inhabited provinces of New Mexico and California, which extended up the

* Why 're-'? the reader may well ask. In the case of Texas it was claimed that it had been, or ought to have been, part of the Louisiana purchase, for the other 're-' there seems no reason at all. In both cases 're-' was a figleaf to cover the nakedness of annexation.

Pacific coast to the point where Oregon, hitherto under joint Anglo-American administration, began. Polk sent an agent to Mexico City to buy these territories. When the offer was refused it became necessary to pick a quarrel with Mexico, and this was not difficult. Hitherto the river Nueces had been generally recognized as the western frontier of Texas. The American government demanded an extension of territory to the Rio Grande and sent General Taylor to occupy the strip between the two rivers. A skirmish between American and Mexican troops followed. It was enough. As Polk declared in a message to Congress in May 1846, 'The cup of forbearance has been exhausted'. Congress responded in the same spirit, declaring that 'by the act of the Republic of Mexico a state of war exists. . . .' What had come to be called 'the manifest destiny' of the United States to extend to the Pacific on as broad a front as that on which it was already advancing across the territory of the Louisiana purchase, was about to be fulfilled. But in order to get the events of these rather crowded years in their right sequence it will be best to deal with the Oregon question before proceeding to the Mexican war.

The Oregon territory stretched nearly a thousand miles along the Pacific coast from the old Mexican frontier to the southern end of the Russian province of Alaska, and several hundred miles inland to the Rocky mountains. The joint occupation accepted in 1818 had been clearly a temporary arrangement, based on the fact that both parties, America and Britain, while determined to exclude other claimants, had at that time no well-developed interests in the territory. In 1818 and for some time afterwards British fur trappers and pioneers were more numerous than American. The American government proposed more than once to settle the matter by extending the American-Canadian frontier to the coast in a straight line but the British refused; they demanded a frontier along the Columbia river a little further south. But in the early 'forties the westward tide of American migration began to pour in an increasing stream into Oregon, starting from Independence, Missouri, and following what was called 'the Oregon trail' through the mountains. Polk was elected on the rather extravagant slogan 'Fifty-four forty or fight'—54° 40' being the latitude of the Alaskan frontier, which would have given to the Union all that is now British Columbia. But more moderate counsels prevailed. Britain was now willing to accept what she had refused when America had offered it before, and the 1818 frontier was carried to the coast in a straight line along the forty-

ninth parallel of latitude. It was the last act of Aberdeen as foreign secretary. News that the American Senate had accepted the treaty reached England on the same day as Peel's government was defeated after the repeal of the Corn Law, 1846.

To return to the Mexican war. Taylor advanced across the Rio Grande and captured Monterey after a three days' battle, but this was a very long way from the seat of the Mexican government. So an expeditionary force was sent under General Scott to land at Vera Cruz and advance on Mexico City along the route followed by Cortez three hundred and thirty years before. Scott's campaign was brilliantly conducted. He had about 12,000 men, and serving under him were several officers who were to play conspicuous parts in the Civil War fifteen years later—Lee, Grant and McClellan. He occupied Vera Cruz in March (1847), and after a good deal of stiff fighting entered Mexico City in September. By the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) Mexico surrendered Texas, New Mexico and what Mexicans called Upper California. The war had cost only about £13,000,000, and a further £3,000,000 handed over to Mexico in payment for the territories secured.

The Mexican war is as clear a case as history can furnish of a war of pure aggression. A powerful state wanted some of the territory of a weak state, and went in and took it. On the other hand it may be said that Mexico was making no use of the territories in question and that America certainly had a use for them; it was her 'manifest destiny'; she offered to buy them and Mexico would not sell. In view of the fact that gold was immediately afterwards found in California, and that American adventurers stormed the country in their thousands, it may be well that the territory was transferred before the gold was found.

However that may be, the presidency of Polk (including therewith the last day of the presidency of Tyler) had increased the area of the Union by more than fifty per cent. One-third of the Union was the territory up to the Mississippi, surrendered by Britain in 1783 (*plus* Florida, later purchased from Spain); all this was now filled with states. The middle third was the Louisiana purchase, where less than half the states eventually created had as yet been admitted to the Union. The last third comprised Texas, the spoils of Mexico and the southern half of Oregon, and it was, if mathematicians will pardon the phrase, the biggest third of the three. There was a good deal of literary opposition to the Mexican war, particularly in the North where it was supposed, quite

wrongly, that the territory acquired from Mexico, other than Texas, would be a suitable field for the extension of slavery. James Russell Lowell, one of the Boston group, a literary critic who, like others of the Bostonians, has contributed to our hymn-books, satirized the venture in the humorous verses of his *Biglow Papers*. But what has been called 'the magic of the accomplished fact' proved an effective answer to the critics. The best evidence for this is that in the 1848 election the Whigs selected General Taylor as their candidate for the presidency, and won.

'Old Rough and Ready', as Taylor was called, was an honest, hearty, free-spoken soldier who greatly disliked wearing his uniform even on active service. He owned 300 slaves and had no political opinions. Like General Harrison, the only other successful Whig candidate, he died during his term of office and was succeeded by Vice-president Fillmore, an industrious and obscure person about whom historians have almost nothing to say. Great events and small presidents were the rule at this time.

A word should have been said already about Polk. He also has left a rather dim impression but judged by results he was a most successful president. He was also one of the very few who, after a successful first term, have refused to stand for a second.

In January 1848 gold was discovered in the Sacramento valley, California, and there followed such a rush of gold-seekers as the world had never seen before.* In 1847 the whole population of California was under 10,000. In 1850 it was 80,000 and in 1852 200,000. Some went overland, some by sea round Cape Horn, others split the difference and crossed the isthmus of Panama. As always happens on such occasions only a very small fraction of the gold-seekers made fortunes out of gold, though many more made a comfortable livelihood in various trades supplying the necessities of the new population. Among the least fortunate were Sutter, on whose land the gold was found, and Marshall who found it. Sutter had his crops trampled down, his cattle killed and eaten and all his farm smashed to bits; he got no compensa-

* California was the first of the great gold discoveries of modern times. The gold of Victoria, Australia, followed and later on that of Western Australia; after that, biggest of all, the South African Rand in the 'eighties. The great increase in world trade required increasing supplies of gold and the successive gold discoveries supplied a felt want, though in a 'bumpy' and irregular manner. The gold-seekers in California were called 'the forty-niners' from their date (1849). One of them was the father of Clementina ('O my darling Clementine') as those who know the words of this song will remember.

tion, even for the value of his land. Marshall was a tiresome fellow who expected to be regarded as a public benefactor on the strength of his discovery; after being nearly lynched he was driven penniless out of California.

The new annexations raised the thorny question of the distribution of territory between slavery and freedom, which had been driven out of politics, though not out of general discussion, by the Missouri compromise nearly thirty years before. Texas had been admitted already as a slave state—but only one state. Florida had been admitted at the same time (1845) which temporarily put slavery 'two up'; but Iowa, north of Missouri, was admitted as a free state in 1846 and Wisconsin, north of Illinois and west of Lake Michigan, in 1848. There would obviously be more free states to follow fairly soon in the northern parts of the Louisiana purchase. What about the new acquisitions?

Four views were put forward. In 1846, when a vote of money for the Mexican war was before Congress, a member named Wilmot moved an amendment to the effect that slavery should not be tolerated in any territory acquired from Mexico. This Wilmot Proviso, as it was called, was carried again and again in the House, where representation was by constituencies based on population, and always rejected in the Senate where each state, whatever its population, had two members. As southerners pointed out, this proposal meant the abandonment of the Missouri compromise; it was a refusal to prolong the 36° 30' line beyond the old western frontier.

Another proposal was to maintain the compromise by simply extending the Missouri 'line' straight on to the Pacific. This would have cut California into two states, one slave and one free, and was opposed by the Californians themselves who demanded admission as a single free state: 'No niggers, slave or free' was their slogan.

Yet another plan was what was later to be nicknamed 'squatter sovereignty'. Let slavery be allowed in the territories till the time came for their admission as states, when the settlers should decide for themselves whether slavery should be legalized or not. This policy was offensive to northerners, partly because it assumed a moral neutrality on the question of slavery, treating its presence or absence as a matter of indifference to the Union as a whole; partly because if slavery once got established in only a small section of a territory, it might prove difficult in practice to get rid of it. In any case a negro element would have been introduced, and the

average northerner did not want negroes as his neighbours, either slave or free.

The fourth, and most revolutionary, proposal had the blessing of Calhoun; it was a statement that, since the Constitution recognized slaves as lawful property, nothing but a constitutional amendment could make slavery illegal in any part of the Union.

The whole discussion was purely 'political' and bore no relation to realities. Though New Mexico was in the same latitude as Georgia and Alabama it consisted of dry upland plateaux totally unsuited to plantation industries worked by slaves. Though slavery might be legalized it would never flourish on any considerable scale outside the slave states already established. The extension of slavery, which the southerners demanded and the northerners feared, was not going to happen in any case on any scale worth bothering about.

In 1850 Clay proposed and secured the acceptance of the last of his three famous 'compromises'.* It contained four main points: (i) the immediate admission of California as a free state, (ii) the organization of territorial governments in New Mexico and Utah (hitherto part of New Mexico) without mention of slavery, (iii) the abolition of the slave market in the District of Columbia (i.e. Washington), and (iv) the enactment of a new and more stringent Fugitive Slave Law, to secure the capture and return of slaves who escaped into the free states.

The debates on these proposals witness almost the last public appearances of the three famous politicians who had played conspicuous parts for the last thirty or forty years, Clay, Webster and Calhoun. Webster made another of his great speeches in defence of the Union. For the sake of the Union he was willing to tolerate even the new Fugitive Slave Law, which was odious to thousands of northerners who had never thought of themselves as abolitionists. Calhoun was too ill to deliver his speech, which was read on his behalf by Senator Mason while the dying champion of South Carolina sat by, glaring defiance at the compromisers. He threatened that the South would secede in the near future if she were not given justice, by which he meant all she asked for.

Webster was first and foremost an orator, famous for his classic defences of the Union. He had also defended the United States Bank against Jackson—as he had every reason to do, for it allowed him a very large overdraft. Webster and Clay were the

* The others were the Missouri compromise, 1821, and the tariff compromise, 1833.

two 'great brains' of the Whig party, and if they were to be judged by that party their reputations should not stand high, for a more vague-minded, ineffective, and wobbly political organization has never won elections in a great democracy. Clay was no doubt a greater man than Webster; he was an extremely clever politician with great personal charm, but he lacked the courage that makes great decisions and sticks to them. Compared with any really great statesman, or even with a courageous and decisive figure such as Andrew Jackson, he becomes almost insignificant.

Calhoun is more difficult to judge with certainty. There is a school of writers to-day who hold that the South ought to have seceded; that she could have seceded without any civil war any time up to and including 1850, and that it would have been better for her if she had done so. They see in Calhoun a great but unsuccessful statesman, who preached secession when it was still a practical policy—to deaf ears, except in his own state. Three months after Calhoun's death in 1850 nine southern states held a convention at Nashville to discuss secession and decisively rejected the proposal. Others hold, however, that Calhoun was 'a massive egotist' (S. E. Morison's term for him), who took up the championship of the South very largely because he had missed his chances of the presidency; they hold also that he never gave a clear lead on the subject of secession because he never entirely abandoned the delusion that the South could keep its end up indefinitely in its struggle with the North for the control of Union policy. At one time he elaborated an extraordinary plan for amending the Constitution in a way which would safeguard southern interests. According to this plan there were to be two presidents, one elected by the North and one by the South, each with a veto on all legislation. The idea was no doubt suggested to him by Roman history, a favourite subject of study with him; for the old Roman republic had two Consuls, one a patrician and the other a plebeian. He wrote an essay on this plan of his, directing that it should be published after his death, but he can hardly have supposed that it would receive serious attention.

There is no doubt that Calhoun, more than any other one man, created and fostered the state of mind in the South that produced secession and the consequent Civil War, eleven years after his death. He may be regarded as a disastrous influence in American history, but his contribution was more positive and solid than that of either Clay or Webster.

The Breakdown of the Union 1850-61

GROWING TENSION 1850-59

AFTER the acceptance of the Clay compromise everyone except a few fanatical extremists at each end of the scale wanted to get away from the embarrassing discords of North and South. This was reflected in the result of the presidential election of 1852. The Democrats stood for complete acceptance of the compromise and won an unusually overwhelming victory for their candidate, an insignificant person called Franklin Pierce. The Whigs, as usual, put up a General, Scott, the hero of Mexico City, nicknamed 'Old Fuss and Feathers'—which expresses his limitations. After this the Whig party died, and we need not linger over its funeral. A third party, calling itself the Free Soil party and seeking to revive northern grievances against the compromise, failed completely.

Pierce came from New Hampshire, a significant fact. The Democratic party had become to all intents and purposes a party with a southern policy, friendly to slavery and low tariffs. It was therefore sure of the southern vote. By choosing a northern candidate it could improve its more doubtful chances in the other half of the Union. Pierce's Secretary for War was Jefferson Davis, the real successor of Calhoun, who was to become in after years the one and only president of the seceding Southern Confederacy. He had greatly distinguished himself at the battle of Monterey, had married General Taylor's daughter and become a fairly wealthy cotton planter in Mississippi.

Pierce's inaugural address suggested, rather alarmingly, the purchase of Cuba from Spain, which Spain flatly refused. A certain Soulé was sent as ambassador to Spain and in 1853 met at Ostend the American ambassadors to Britain and France. The three of them issued a document called the Ostend Manifesto, which explained that it was in the interests of Spain to sell the island. Should she be so unreasonable as to refuse, then 'by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain if we possess the power'. 'Manifest destiny' had gone to the heads of these three gentlemen. As the *London Times*

remarked, American diplomacy was a singular profession. Cuba had to wait for nearly fifty years for deliverance from Spain.

A curious feature of the politics of the north-eastern states, from Pennsylvania northwards, during Pierce's presidency was the appearance of a new party raising an entirely new issue, namely the Native American party, demanding the exclusion of Roman Catholics from all state and Federal appointments and the extension of the period of naturalization for immigrants from five to twenty-one years. The motive is obvious—hostility to the increasing tide of immigration and particularly to the Catholic Irish. The party was organized as a secret society, and its members when asked awkward questions were instructed to say that they 'knew nothing'. Hence the nickname 'the Know-nothing party'. They scored considerable success in the mid-term elections of 1854 when the Federal House of Representatives and the local legislatures were elected, but they disappeared as suddenly as they had arisen, and put up no candidate for the presidential elections of 1856. Probably they realized that they stood no chance, since by that time the slavery issue had been re-opened, and so they allowed their organization to be captured by the Democrats. Many years later, in the present century, the exclusion of unwanted immigrants became an important question and they were in fact drastically excluded; the 'Know-nothings' were 'before their time'.*

Could the slavery question be put to sleep? It could not, if only because of the Fugitive Slave law. That item in the compromise of 1850, the chief concession to southern demand, proved disastrous from every point of view, because it stirred hatred of slavery in the hearts of thousands of northerners who had never been abolitionists. Hitherto the police of each state had been responsible for capturing and returning runaway slaves, and no doubt the police of northern states had been thoroughly slack about it. This was annoying to the South, but the number of slaves who had got away was not really very large; it is estimated at 15,000 in the previous twenty years, and it may be guessed that they were neither very good slaves nor the slaves of very good masters. Under the new law the whole business was placed in the hands of Federal officials, overriding the state authorities. Captured fugitives were not allowed the benefit of trial by jury,

* But others had the idea still earlier. Right back in colonial days the Pennsylvania legislature passed an Act to exclude German immigrants, but it was vetoed by George II's British government.

and it was alleged that in some cases free negroes resident in northern states were captured and sent south to replace runaways who had got away. Northern enthusiasts organized an elaborate system for speeding escaped slaves to safety across the Canadian border; it was known as 'the underground railway'.

The most notorious case was that of Anthony Burns, an escaped slave who was captured in Boston in 1854, and put in the Boston prison till his return had been arranged. A Boston mob stormed the jail and one of the Federal officials was killed. Boston philanthropists offered to buy Burns his freedom, but the offer was rejected on the ground that it was illegal to buy or sell slaves in Massachusetts! The restoration of Burns to his master cost the Federal Treasury £10,000.

In 1852 Mrs. Beecher Stowe published her famous novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Mrs. Stowe was the wife of a professor at Cincinnati University. Living on the north bank of the Ohio, she had seen a good deal of the fugitive slave traffic, but she had never visited the South, and her picture of life on a cotton plantation bore little relation to reality. It was regarded in the South much as Englishmen in 1940 regarded Goebbels' descriptions of life in England during the war, but it carried conviction in the North, and added fresh fuel to the abolitionist movement.*

The practical question of the day, ever since the gold rush to California, had been how to improve the lines of communication between that state and the rest of the Union, for California was a new phenomenon, a state separated by over a thousand miles of undeveloped territory from its nearest neighbour. There were three possibilities: the improvement of shipping, the construction of an isthmian canal across the 'waist' of Central America, and transcontinental railways. We will take each in turn and see what came of it.

In 1850 the average length of a voyage from New York to San Francisco round Cape Horn was 159 days. Then came the clipper *Sea Witch*, built for sheer speed, and did the voyage in

* *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was immediately dramatized and staged at New York, the principal attraction being a little girl of four who played the part of 'Little Eva'. She played the part continuously for eight years and then retired from the stage with a fortune. She died, aged ninety-three, on August 8th, 1941, while this chapter was being written. (See *Times*, August 12th, 1941.) The book was translated into French, German, Italian, Welsh, Russian, Persian, Hindustani and Chinese. It is doubtful if any other novel ever written had such a widespread body of readers.

97 days, and the *Flying Cloud* which did it in 89, a record never equalled again by sail. Just as the climax of the stage-coach came immediately before the advent of the railway, so the brief and thrilling climax of countless centuries of sailing ships came—and passed—in the middle years of the last century. The clippers were, says an American, the loveliest things ever produced by the ingenuity of American citizens, and they were the loveliest things that ever had been or ever will be seen at sea. They sailed to the Chinese ports and challenged British competition in the tea trade and the British responded to the challenge, but they never quite equalled the Americans in speed. Great Britain had long been ahead of America in steamships, for the Americans stuck too long to the paddle-steamer, so useful on her long inland waterways, after the British had concentrated on the screw propeller.

The canal projectors rejected the isthmus of Panama in favour of the alternative route through Nicaragua. The isthmus there is very much wider, but a large lake and a river cover the greater part of the distance. Great Britain was at that time actively interested in various Central American projects and by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty (1850), named after the American and British negotiators, the two governments agreed that neither of them would ever fortify, or claim exclusive control, of any Central American canal. Actually no canal was built until the twentieth century. The project was for the time being killed by the superior attractions of the railway schemes.

There were several rival railway projects, and needless to say they involved rivalries between different states and between North and South, for whichever state secured the eastern terminus of the railway would score heavily. We need only consider two projects. There was the so-called central route starting from St. Louis (which was already connected by rail with Chicago) and passing through what is now Kansas, Colorado and Utah to San Francisco; and the southern route, starting from Preston in Texas on the Red river (which flows down to New Orleans) and reaching the Pacific at San Diego five hundred miles south of San Francisco. The southern route was the shorter and the easier, though it did not lead direct to the main centre of Californian population. It was naturally favoured by Jefferson Davis, the most powerful man in the government, who secured, to facilitate the railway, the purchase of an additional strip of Mexican territory, called the Gadsden purchase (1853), Gadsden being the name of the promoter of this line. The champion of the

central route was Stephen Douglas of Illinois, the leader of the northern wing of the Democratic party. Since Chicago is in Illinois his motives need no explanation. He was a young politician of immense energy and a powerful orator, nicknamed 'the little giant'.

If the central route was to be a paying proposition it was necessary to stimulate the development of the prairie lands through which the line would pass. As we mentioned on an earlier page, western pioneers were for a long time shy of the treeless prairies; they preferred the densely wooded lands of the eastern half of the middle west. But the agricultural inventions of the previous ten years were now making the prairies a more attractive proposition:—the patent reaper of Cyrus McCormick, admirably adapted to soil free of tree-stumps; Marsh's harvester, which gathered the wheat into sheaves; Appleby's self-knotting binder, and steel wire for fencing. Also the price of wheat was rising.

In 1854 Douglas introduced a bill to organize two territories,* Kansas and Nebraska, in the prairie lands west of Iowa and Missouri. The bill contained a 'squatter sovereignty' clause, by which the immigrants into the territory (which was altogether north of the old Missouri compromise line) were to decide for themselves whether they would legalize slavery in their territorial constitution. Douglas professed complete neutrality on the slavery issue; he 'didn't care whether slavery was voted up or voted down', but he foresaw that competition between slavery men and 'free-soilers' to secure a majority would stimulate the flow of population into the land through which his railway was to run. The bill became law after prolonged and heated debates.

If any one man lit the fuse which exploded the Civil War seven years later it was Douglas with his squatter sovereignty bill. Settlers flowed into Kansas (the southern territory) and proceeded to fight each other. Kansas became 'bleeding Kansas'. The leading champion of the free-soilers was the notorious John Brown, a puritan fanatic whose ideals derived from the most savage sections of the Old Testament. At Pottawatomie and again at Ossawatimie he and his gang surprised parties of slavery

* The territories (not-yet-state) lands of U.S.A. were of two classes: unorganized territory which was entirely undeveloped and under direct Federal control, and organized territories with assigned frontiers and a certain degree of self-government, according to a constitution voted by themselves, subject to the approval of Congress.

men and killed them in cold blood. Kansas was not suited to slave plantations, and the free-soil settlers were always a large majority.

The right reply to 'Bleeding Kansas' was the formation of a new political party, absorbing the Free Soil party of 1852 and called the Republican party. It stood for the prevention of all further extension of slavery but it included other interests in its programme—a high tariff, to satisfy the industrialists of the North; and free distribution of allotments of unoccupied western lands, to satisfy the West.

For the 1856 presidential election the Democrats rejected Pierce, who had become 'damaged goods' so far as attracting the northern vote was concerned, and put up James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, another politician of northern origin and southern sympathies. He had been Secretary of State to Polk and one of the authors of the Ostend Manifesto; an amiable old bachelor of cultured tastes and sociable habits but almost ludicrously unfitted to lead a nation in a crisis. But he was a better man than his rival, for the Republican party put up a truly ridiculous candidate, John C. Frémont, whom his friends called 'the Pathfinder'. During the Mexican war he had tried to conquer California on his own account, and was afterwards court-martialled, convicted of mutiny and misconduct and dismissed from the army. However, as his father-in-law was an influential senator he had been pardoned and restored to his rank of captain. Buchanan carried all the slave states and three northern states and was elected, but Frémont won all the rest of the North. The attempt to keep North v. South out of party politics was breaking down.*

Two days after Buchanan's inauguration, Chief Justice Taney (who had succeeded Marshall in 1835) delivered judgment on behalf of the majority of the judges in the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case. It was what is called a test case, carried through all the local courts up to the highest tribunal in order to discover what in fact the law might be. Scott was a slave who had been taken by his master both into the free state of Illinois and into territory north of the Missouri compromise line; on his return with his master to the state of Missouri he claimed his freedom on the ground that he had been, not as an escaped slave but with his master's approval, into territory where he necessarily ceased to be

* Years afterwards, when Grant was famous as the commander-in-chief of the armies of the winning side in the Civil War, he remarked to a friend that he had only once voted in a presidential election, namely, for Buchanan in 1856. Asked to account for this departure from his usual practice he said: 'I knew Frémont.'

a slave. There were several points in Taney's judgment, but the chief point was that Congress had no right, under the Constitution, to exclude slavery from any of its territories acquired since the making of the Constitution, i.e. from territory beyond the Mississippi. Various legal authorities have since held that the Supreme Court's judgment on this point was legally wrong, and others that it was right. It really matters no more than whether an umpire was right in giving a particular batsman out 'leg before'. The batsman is out, not because he was 'leg before' but because the umpire said he was 'leg before'. Henceforth Taney's judgment was the law and the Constitution, and the Missouri compromise, already infringed by the Kansas-Nebraska Act, ceased to exist.

No one cared less about Chief Justice Taney and his verdict than old John Brown. In 1859, with a band of twenty fanatics, he seized the Federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, with the idea of arming a slave insurrection. The enterprise was bound to fail after the initial surprise. Brown was taken alive, though wounded, tried on a charge of murder, conspiracy and treason against the state of Virginia, and hanged. He was a heroic old savage and heroism in any cause always claims admiration, but if murder, conspiracy and treason are crimes deserving of death, then Brown deserved what he got. It throws a strange light on the state of American opinion at this time that Emerson, the leading exponent of American philosophy and idealism, should have written of Brown as 'That new saint, than whom nothing purer or more brave was ever led by love of men into conflict with death . . . who will make the gallows glorious like the cross.' On the other hand Lincoln said of John Brown's raid: 'That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts related in history at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than his own execution'. 'John Brown's body' became the favourite marching song of the Union armies in the Civil War.

In 1857 a citizen of North Carolina, H. R. Helper, published a book entitled *The Impending Crisis of the South*, designed to prove that slavery did not pay and that, to save their own plantations from ruin, the southern states ought, in their own interests, to pass laws emancipating their slaves. There was a good deal to be said for this point of view. Since 1820 the world market price of cotton had been nearly halved and the cost of a good plantation

slave nearly doubled. Though the output of cotton had enormously increased the profits were falling to zero. Slave labour was more wasteful and idle than the labour of the same men hired on weekly wages was likely to be. The surprising thing is that the average southerner seems to have resented Helper's careful economic analysis far more than he had resented *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The latter was just a bad joke, the sort of thing you might expect from a silly 'Yankee' woman; the former was an act of disloyalty from a fellow citizen. Southern states did their best to prevent the sale of the book.

Why was this? Was it that, stung by the insults of the abolitionists, the southerners had made a religion of their 'peculiar institution',* as they sometimes called it, and would not listen to argument about it? or was it that they were determined to keep the negro separate and enslaved for social reasons, whatever the economic merits of the case? Both these motives counted for much, no doubt.

Before continuing the story which leads up to the Civil War, we must mention a curious by-product of the arrival of America in the Pacific and the clipper tea trade with China. Japan had been closed for two centuries to all foreign intercourse, except a strictly limited trade with China and the Dutch East Indies. This did not suit the Americans, who wanted a port of call there, and in 1853 Commodore Perry of the American navy anchored with an armed squadron in the Bay of Yedo. The Americans and the Japanese conferred in what was then the village of Yokohama and, like the heroes of Homer, parted after an exchange of gifts. Japan gave lovely lacquers and brocades; America gave a set of telegraph instruments, a model steam-engine, an assortment of farm implements and revolvers and several barrels of whisky. From that moment Japan began to be convinced of the blessings of western civilization. The treaty of Kanagawa gave America certain rights of trade with Japan, and various European governments made similar approaches with the same results. It was called 'the opening of Japan'; but, as an American humorist remarked long afterwards, 'We didn't go in; they kim out.'

* 'Peculiar' meaning, not 'odd' but 'special to themselves': e.g. the schoolboy's misunderstanding when, on being told that the story of the Prodigal Son was 'peculiar to St. Luke', he said: 'I can see nothing peculiar about it.'

THE BREAKING POINT 1858-61

In 1858 Illinois had to elect a Senator. Stephen Douglas, of squatter sovereignty fame, was the Senator retiring at the end of his six years' term and he offered himself for re-election. To contest the seat the local branch of the Republican party nominated Abraham Lincoln. Actually the Senator was, under the Constitution, appointed by the state legislature, and the popular vote was concerned with the election of a new state legislature; but it came to the same thing. If the Democrats secured a majority in the legislature Douglas would be appointed Senator, and if the Republicans, Lincoln. Lincoln and Douglas arranged to hold a series of debates in the seven chief towns of the state.

Abraham Lincoln was born in Kentucky in 1809. His father, who was the descendant of a New England emigrant of the earliest days, was a typical example of the feebler type of western pioneer, always failing in one place and moving on somewhere else to fail again. He moved from Kentucky to Indiana, and then on to Illinois, always desperately poor. The mother, a girl of illegitimate birth from Virginia, died when Lincoln was still a small boy. Young Lincoln grew up a tall strapping young man, six foot four in height, famous in the neighbourhood for his good humour, his practical jokes, his endless supply of funny stories and his quite exceptional physical strength. But there was more to him than that. Though he never had more than twelve months' schooling, he had a passion for books. The difficulty was to get them, and almost his only books in his boyhood were the Bible, *Aesop's Fables*, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and Weems' *Life of Washington*.^{*} Later he secured Shakespeare and Burns, and Euclid's *Elements of Geometry*. He certainly got no encouragement from his father. 'I suppose Abe is still fooling himself with eddication,' said that worthy, after Abe had grown up and left home; 'I tried to stop it, but he has got that fool idea in his head, and it can't be got out.'

Lincoln was one of those rare men whose education ended only with his life. Though one of the most sociable of men he was also one of the most profoundly thoughtful. At times he would sit for hours, entirely withdrawn from all around him, not dreaming and

^{*} What a splendid education! No spoon-feeding by schoolmasters or cramming for examinations; no magazines or other rubbish; no films; no wireless; just a few great books and plenty of time to think.

dozing as most of us do at such times but really thinking—a very difficult thing to do, as the few who try to do it soon discover. And there was another uncommon thing about him; he was in a very unusual degree simply and naturally good, infinitely kind and gentle, loyal and generous to his neighbours. These neighbours, the simple farmers and tradesmen of Illinois, knew that there was something very uncommon about 'old Abe' long before he was heard of outside his own state.

Besides helping his father in the ordinary occupations of a backwoods settler Lincoln tried many trades. At the age of nineteen he took a flat-boat down to New Orleans, saw slavery for the first time and did not like it; he volunteered for service in an Indian war, was elected captain of his company, but saw no fighting; he served in a store (i.e. shop), and afterwards undertook part-ownership of a store, over which he lost his money; finally, like Andrew Jackson before him, he made a fairly successful career as a lawyer at Springfield, Illinois, served for six years in the state legislature, and for two years (1846–48) in the House at Washington, where he voted for the Wilmot proviso, was generally popular as a 'good fellow' but otherwise made no mark. In politics he was in those days a Whig, mainly perhaps because he disliked Jackson's attack on the United States Bank. Though entirely unambitious to make money for himself he had a very strong sense of the need for protecting the stability of private property. Though every inch a democrat in the non-party sense, a believer in the wisdom of the plain people whose representative he was, he never showed any inclination towards what was then beginning to be called Socialism.

Lincoln was never an abolitionist. His attitude to the slavery question differed from that of Garrison and John Brown as the New Testament differs from the Old. In 1854 he said:

'I surely will not blame the slave-owners for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me I should not know what to do as to the existing institution [i.e. slavery]. . . . When they [the slave-owners] remind us of their constitutional rights I acknowledge them—not grudgingly but fully and fairly, and I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives which should not in its stringency be more likely to carry a free man into slavery than our own criminal laws are to hang an innocent one . . . But all this, in my judgment, furnishes no more excuse for permitting slavery to go into our own free territory than it would for reviving the African slave-trade by law.'

In short, Lincoln would protect the rights of slavery in the states where slavery existed, but would not allow its extension, by squatter sovereignty or otherwise. But he also looked ahead. He had said:

'A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot permanently endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.'*

These two quotations should be carefully studied as the words of a very wise and very honest man who possessed in an unusual degree the art of saying exactly what he meant, neither more nor less. But at the time of the Douglas debates and indeed until three years later, after he had been already some months president, Lincoln was regarded by most people in political circles as a somewhat second-rate backwoods politician, genial, shrewd and amusing, but notable mainly for his striking ugliness. This last point is to us the strangest of all, for we have photographs taken of him before he became president and grew what we think his unbecoming chin beard, and they show a countenance which seems to most of us altogether worthy of a really great man.

S. E. Morison (*Oxford History of the United States*, vol. ii, p. 135) has a description of the scene of the Lincoln-Douglas debates which deserves quotation:

'Imagine some parched little prairie town of Central Illinois, set in fields of rustling maize; a dusty court-house square, surrounded by low wooden houses and shops blistering in the August sunshine, decked with flags and party emblems; shirt-sleeved farmers and their families in wagons and buggies and on foot, brass bands blaring out "Hail! Columbia," and "Oh! Susanna"; wooden platform with railing, perspiring semicircle of local dig-

* Speaking to an English visitor in the year before his death, Washington, himself a slave-owner, said: 'I can clearly foresee that nothing but the rooting out of slavery can perpetuate the existence of our union, by consolidating it in a common bond of principle.' This is exactly Lincoln's view of what must happen in the long run. The two really great men thought alike—and most others thought otherwise.

nitaries in black frock-coats and two-quart beaver hats. The Douglas special train pulls into the "depo" (depot, railway station), and fires a salute from the twelve-pounder cannon bolted to a flat-car at the rear. Senator Douglas, escorted by the local democratic club in column of fours, drives up in an open carriage and aggressively mounts the platform. His short stocky figure is clothed in the best that the city of Washington can produce. Every feature of his face bespeaks confidence and mastery; every gesture of his body, vigour and combativeness. Abe Lincoln, who had previously arrived by an ordinary passenger train, approaches on foot, his furrowed face and long neck conspicuous above the crowd. He shambles on to the platform, displaying a rusty frock-coat the sleeves of which stop several inches short of his wrists, and well-worn trousers that show a similar reluctance to approach a pair of enormous feet. His face, as he turns to the crowd, has an air of settled melancholy.'

Lincoln's main object in these debates was to drive Douglas into admitting that the Dred Scott verdict, now championed by the South, was inconsistent with his own doctrine of squatter sovereignty. It was no use Douglas telling the people of Kansas territory that they could 'vote slavery up or down' if slavery was in any case legal in all territories. Douglas replied that in spite of the Dred Scott verdict a territory could make slavery impossible in practice by refusing to enact police laws to protect it. A neat answer, but Lincoln had made his point; he had ensured that the great Douglas, the only Democrat who might perhaps carry the North against the Republicans, would not be acceptable to the South as their next presidential candidate, for he had driven Douglas into suggesting that the Dred Scott verdict could be effectively 'nullified' by an anti-slavery majority. Lincoln lost the Senatorship of Illinois but he ensured that the Republicans would win the presidency two years later.

Pitman's improvements in shorthand had recently made possible the accurate reporting of speeches. The fame of Douglas drew reporters from all over the Union to the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and they were reported in full in the leading newspapers of all the great cities. They gave Lincoln the publicity which made his selection as a presidential candidate two years later a distinct possibility. Books often suggest that Lincoln at the time of his election was virtually an unknown man. Actually he was better known to the newspaper reader than several of his recent predecessors had been.

The chief event of 1859, John Brown's raid, has already been

described. We can pass at once to the most famous of all presidential elections.

The Republican convention met at Chicago, in Lincoln's own state. Seward, governor of New York State, had been the leading politician of the party ever since its foundation, but he had enemies and was supposed to be one of the aggressive school of thought, who might frighten away the votes of many who feared that a Republican victory might mean civil war; also he carried little weight in the north-western states, whose allegiance to the party was doubtful. Lincoln, on the other hand, was regarded as moderate and conciliatory; he was a westerner, a 'character' and a self-made man. He could, like Harrison twenty years before, be made the subject of a good popular campaign. 'Lincoln the rail splitter'* might be as effective as Tippecanoe's log-cabin and cider had been in 1840. Some hard bargaining by Lincoln's agents secured for him the nomination of the Republican convention.

The Democratic convention met at Charleston and reached a deadlock between the Douglasites and the southern extremists. No candidate could secure the two-thirds majority required, under the rules of the party, for nomination. So the convention split in two; one convention nominated Douglas and the other Breckinridge of Kentucky, the nominee of the cotton planters. Yet another convention, a sort of ghost of the Whigs, calling itself the National Constitutional Union and excluding all mention of the slavery question from its programme, nominated Bell of Tennessee.

It is worth while giving for once the full figures of the election.

	Popular vote	Electoral vote
Lincoln	1,866,452	180
Douglas	1,376,957	12
Breckinridge	849,781	72
Bell	588,879	39

The second column gives the figures of the members of the electoral college. Douglas got far more individual votes than either Breckinridge or Bell, but his votes were distributed all over the Union; he only carried one state, Missouri. Lincoln won all the free states; Breckinridge all the cotton states; and Bell three

* i.e. Rails for fencing; rails supposed to have been split by Lincoln were actually produced at election meetings; no doubt they were as authentic as the relics carried by Chaucer's Pardoner.

southern states, Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, where slavery no longer flourished on a large scale. Lincoln was elected by a minority vote of the people, but he had an absolute majority in the electoral college, so there was no question of referring the choice of president to the House. It is sometimes said that if there had been only two candidates Lincoln would have been defeated, but this is almost certainly a mistaken view. No conceivable candidate blessed by the South would have carried northern states against Lincoln, and the North, united, could beat the South. That was the gist of the whole matter.

As soon as the result of the election was known South Carolina summoned a state convention which carried with unanimity a resolution to secede from the Union (December 1860). Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas had followed by the middle of February 1861. In so doing they acted against the advice of many of their local leaders, including Jefferson Davis and Alexander Stephens, who none the less consented to become president and vice-president of the Confederacy, as it was called. Davis wanted to wait until Lincoln had taken office, to see if his policy as president would justify secession; Stephens was altogether against secession, but accepted the decision of his state. The representatives of the seceding states met at Montgomery, Alabama, and drew up a constitution. It closely resembled the old constitution of the Union except that it made a protective tariff illegal. Import duties were to be imposed for revenue only, on goods not produced within the Confederacy. In order to appease the anti-slavery prejudices of the outside world, especially of England, the new constitution contained a clause forbidding the revival of the slave trade.

During these months, November 1860 to March 1861, there was virtually no government at Washington. Buchanan remained in office; he held that secession was unconstitutional, but that the Constitution gave him no right to prevent it. Lincoln, elected but not yet in office, could do almost as little—except grow his beard. He did, however, indicate that he would not accept a 'compromise' proposed by Senator Crittenden, designed to bribe the South back into the Union by further concessions.

In his inaugural address Lincoln reaffirmed his pledge to respect the rights of slavery in the slave states but declared his determination to maintain the Union at all costs. Maintenance of the Union narrowed down for the moment to a test case, the

maintenance of the naval station at Fort Sumter, on an island in Charleston harbour. After waiting for a month, and finally acting against the advice of the majority of his cabinet, Lincoln sent ships to provision the fort. He did not intend his provisioning of Fort Sumter to be an act of war. He wrote informing the governor of South Carolina that this expedition was coming, that it would land nothing but food—no extra troops or munitions—and that the fort would not interfere with Charleston in any way. He hoped that the Confederacy, whose legal existence he refused to recognize, would ultimately rejoin the Union peaceably as the result of future use of the ballot box. Except that he would not allow Fort Sumter to surrender from starvation, as Buchanan would have done, his policy was not, up to the firing on the fort, a big departure from Buchanan's. Only after the fall of Fort Sumter did he *begin* preparation for war.

Before the ships arrived the Confederate batteries opened fire on Fort Sumter, which surrendered. Lincoln at once issued a call for 75,000 volunteers. Thereupon four more states seceded, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee and, last of all, North Carolina. North Carolina had previously rejected secession, but her position between Virginia and South Carolina now gave her no choice. The western part of Virginia revolted against secession and in 1863 was admitted to the Union as a separate state, West Virginia.

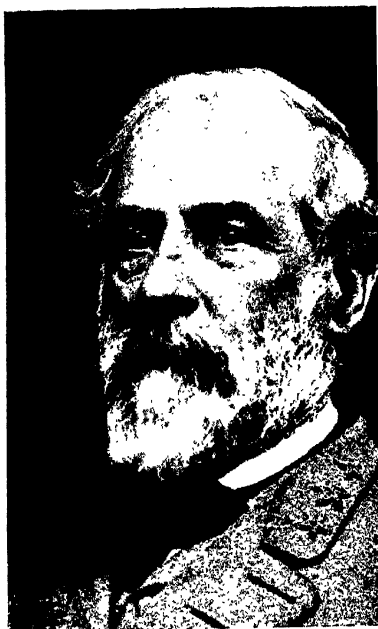
There remained four states in which slavery was legalized. Of these, the small state of Delaware was firmly Unionist; Maryland protested against the coercion of the seceders, but did not secede; Kentucky and Missouri were divided between Union and Confederate factions. The loyalty of Maryland was of immense importance because it enabled the Union to retain the Federal capital, Washington, which had been built on the northern or Maryland side of the river Potomac. Only slightly less important was the retention of Kentucky, for the Ohio valley is a single region geographically, and Kentucky is the southern side of it. Missouri mattered much less; events beyond the Mississippi exercised little influence on the course of the war.

To sum up; there were at this date thirty-three states, eighteen free and fifteen slave states, Minnesota on the Canadian frontier and Oregon on the Pacific coast having been recently admitted as states. Eleven states had seceded and twenty-two remained (two of them somewhat dubiously) within the Union. The seceding states contained 5,500,000 white men and 3,600,000 negroes of

PLATE IX
SOME PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR



GENERAL WILLIAM T. SHERMAN (1820-1891)
The Northern leader responsible for the campaign of attrition in Georgia.



GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE (1807-1870)
Leader of the Southern armies.



GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT (1822-1885, *centre, with slouch hat*) with Northern officers.
Grant was often drunk but, said Lincoln, 'he fights'. He became President in 1869.



THE BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG, 1862 (from *Harper's Weekly*)

Union reserves watch apprehensively as wounded are brought back and treated. The North had 7,000 casualties in this defeat. Of the 3,000,000 men engaged in the whole Civil War, 600,000 (one in five) were killed.

whom all but about 200,000 were slaves; the population remaining in the Union was about 21,500,000 white men and 400,000 negroes.*

It is probable that of those who voted for secession only a minority expected to have to fight for it; they knew that a large element in the North agreed with Horace Greeley, the editor of the New York *Tribune*, when he wrote, in January 1861, 'Wayward sisters, depart in peace'. (In a few months' time Greeley would be shouting for the chastisement of his wayward sisters.) Of the majority, some expected an amicable and painless separation. Others advocated secession as a bluff; they thought it would be easier to bargain with Lincoln from outside the Union than from inside. They expected the fatted calf to be killed as an inducement to the prodigal's return. But when war became inevitable all three sections of opinion faced it without flinching, and confident of victory.

Why did the Confederate states secede? Not to save slavery, for it was not threatened. Even if Lincoln and the newly elected Congress had wanted to abolish slavery they could not have done it. Slavery was protected by the Constitution, and could be abolished only by a constitutional amendment, which required the assent of three-quarters of the states. The declared policy of Lincoln's government was to prevent the further extension of slavery in the territories, but the Confederacy, by seceding, effectively cut itself off from any prospect of extension. Some writers, having proved that the South did not secede to save slavery, have found themselves driven to conclude that the South seceded to escape the high protective tariff threatened by the Republican victory. But this is not the truth either; the South would not take so tremendous a step as secession merely to avoid a tariff that had not yet been even submitted to Congress.

The real reason for secession was that the southerners had come to feel themselves a separate community. They had come more and more to dislike and despise, to hate and fear, their northern neighbours. They were on the way to becoming, and indeed already almost thought of themselves as, a separate *nation*; and as a nation within the Union they were a relatively dwindling minority.

The South seceded from very much the same motives as had

* The difference between these figures and those on page 132 is of course explained by the fact that the four slave states which did not secede are transferred to the Union total.

impelled the thirteen colonies to rebel against British control nearly a hundred years before. In both cases, beneath the particular grounds of quarrel, there was something more fundamental—a feeling that the advantages of separation outweighed the advantages of continued union. The movement of the South in favour of separation in 1861 was far more enthusiastic and far more nearly unanimous than the movement of the colonies for separation from Britain at any stage of the American revolution.

The American revolution succeeded; the Confederate secession failed. A Roman poet says that the gods favour the winning side; and so do the historians. It is in accord with the irrepressible optimism of human nature to conclude that whatever finally happens is 'a good thing'. It may be so.

As for the question whether the states had a constitutional *right* to secede, perhaps it is hardly worth discussing. In any case it is an inextricable tangle, as can be proved by advancing three propositions. (a) The original thirteen states had voluntarily joined the Union, three of them making explicit statements that after joining they would be entitled to withdraw—statements which were not officially condemned by any authority. Therefore any of the original thirteen were entitled to secede. (b) All the other states had been created by, and under, the Federal government, and were clearly not entitled to secede. (c) All states of the Union, old and new, were according to the Constitution equal in all respects; therefore either (a) or (b) must be wrong. If the reader can dispute any of these three propositions taken separately, or can draw any conclusion from them taken jointly, he is to be congratulated.

Reunion 1861-77

THE CIVIL WAR 1861-62

WHAT we call the American Civil War was not a civil war in the ordinary sense of the word. In an ordinary civil war, such as our own one in Charles I's reign, two political parties fight for the control of the country; but in the American Civil War a new country, the Confederacy, had been carved out of the territory of the Union and only asked to be left alone, and the Union was setting out to conquer and re-annex it. The distinction is important. If it had been an ordinary civil war, the Union, with nearly four times as much white population, would have seemed bound to win; the more so as the whole of the navy, the bulk of the shipping and by far the greater part of the industrial resources of the country were in the control of the Union. But victory does not always go to the bigger battalions; it often goes to the stronger will. The Confederacy had every reason to fight to the death since she was fighting for her very life. But what was the Union fighting for? Not to abolish slavery—Lincoln had made that quite clear. She was fighting to 'restore the Union', to reclaim 'wayward sisters' who might perhaps be allowed to 'depart in peace' without much loss to the family. Was it worth while? Many thought not, at various times during the next four years, till final victory came in sight. One man held from first to last that the Confederacy must be conquered and the Union restored, at whatever cost—President Lincoln. Just as Washington had carried the War of Independence on his shoulders so Lincoln was to carry this war for reunion. It seems possible that if Seward or any other possible Republican candidate had been put up for the presidency in 1860, the war would either not have been undertaken or would have been abandoned in mid-course.

In his determination to face war rather than permit the severance of the Union, Lincoln was not only true to his own strength of character and his faith in the future of an undivided American democracy; he was also the spokesman of the West. The old North-East, with its Atlantic seaboard, might have parted

company with the old South and suffered no serious economic consequences; but the West, the upper regions of the Mississippi and its tributaries, refused to face the prospect of the mouth of that river passing into foreign and possibly hostile control. The secession of the Gulf states would restore the situation before the Louisiana purchase, when Spain owned New Orleans and the final stages of the westerners' waterway to the sea.

The Union aimed at conquest, and for conquest needed victory, absolute and complete. For the Confederacy a 'draw' would be sufficient; the North would cease to attack them and they would retain their independence. History is full of examples of great conquerors failing to conquer small communities, because love of freedom was stronger than the will to conquer.* And the Confederacy was not small; it was a great wedge of territory, 800 miles from north to south and 1,000 miles from east to west. It was confident of victory, and most Europeans expected it to win.

But there was one respect in which the war now about to open illustrated one of the most painful characteristics of a civil war. Families were divided. Recorded examples of this are literally countless. Mrs. Lincoln had three half-brothers fighting for the Confederacy. Mrs. Jefferson Davis had a brother in the Union navy. Robert E. Lee, the greatest general of the Confederacy, had a cousin who was an admiral on the other side. General Meade, his opponent at the battle of Gettysburg, had a brother-in-law in the Confederate army. Senator Crittenden had two brothers, one fighting on each side, and so on. The motives which led men to make the choice, often a painful and reluctant choice, of side were mainly conditioned by geography; they followed the decision of their states. Lee was opposed to slavery and longed for its abolition; he also regretted the secession of Virginia; but, being a Virginian, he refused Lincoln's offer of the command-in-chief of the Union forces and tendered his services to Davis. He held that, though secession was a mistake, the enforced reunion would be a greater evil. Sherman, on the other hand, who commanded the invasion of the Confederacy which decided the issue of the war, regarded slavery as a necessary institution, but as a citizen of Ohio gave his whole loyalty to the maintenance of the Union.

* Antiochus Epiphanes against the Jews, Edward I against the Scots, Spain against the Dutch, Napoleon against Spain, Britain in 1919-21 against the republican movement in Ireland. Modern weapons have tilted the balance in favour of the 'great power' against the devotees of freedom, however heroic their resistance.

On one point the Confederate leaders made a complete miscalculation. They believed that their cotton was essential to the British and French cotton industries, and that Britain and France would intervene on their side to break the Union blockade and perhaps to secure a peace treaty guaranteeing their independence. They did not realize that during the previous two years there had accumulated a 'glut' of cotton in the British and French markets; imports had exceeded requirements by fifty per cent. A temporary stoppage of imports of cotton from America suited British and French textile industries very well; it enabled them to work off the 'glut' already on their hands and sell it at increased prices. The 'Lancashire cotton famine' did not begin till 1863 and by that time the chances of the Confederacy were beginning to look doubtful.

Also it happened that 1861 and 1862 were years of bad harvest in Britain. We had to import wheat on a larger scale than ever before, and this wheat came largely from the wheatfields of the western states of the Union, for the Canadian wheatfields were not yet opened. By a curious combination of events the produce of the northern states was for the first time in history more important to Britain than the produce of the southern states.

The Confederacy enjoyed one great advantage. She had begun her preparations for war in February, as soon as the seven original secession states had met in Convention at Montgomery. Conscription was adopted at once, and no country ever entered on a war with a finer set of generals in command. Of these the most famous were to be Lee and Jackson, both of them great characters as well as great soldiers. Lee was, it is said, unbusiness-like and too easy-going in all that concerned the provisioning of his army, but he was one of the greatest masters of the manoeuvring of troops before and after a battle. He was also a man of flawless character, a great gentleman in every sense of the word, fitting symbol of all that was best in the old-fashioned southern civilization that was about to be destroyed. Jackson, a stern puritan of a type one associates with New England rather than the South, gained the nickname of 'Stonewall' for his stolid defence in the first battle of the war (Bull Run), but the nickname is misleading for he excelled as a master of rapid movement. On the other hand Jefferson Davis did not prove a good president. Though an able man he was not good at co-operating with his cabinet, and was much too fond of interfering with the strictly military plans of his generals. In the early stages of the war the

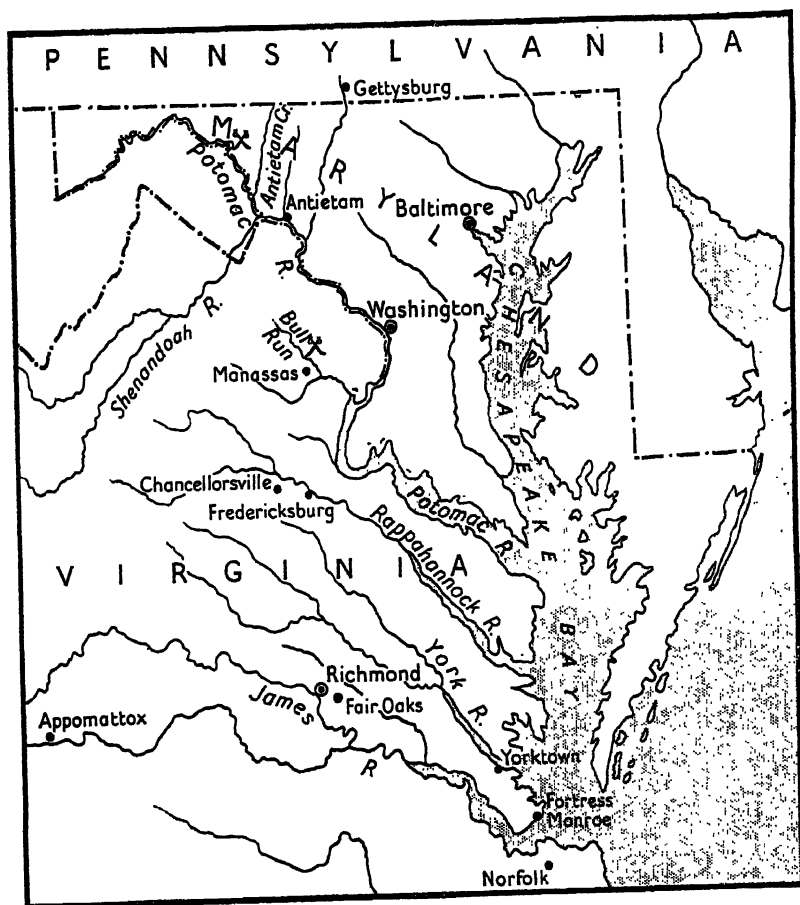
southerners proved better fighting material and more accustomed to hardship and the use of firearms, but their superiority in these respects has been often exaggerated. A curious—and militarily important—fact about them throughout the war was that they needed far less food than the northerners.*

Probably the great majority on both sides imagined in 1861 that of the two presidents Jefferson Davis was the better man, he had certainly had much the more distinguished career. Lincoln's cabinet, like many American cabinets, consisted not of the men he would have chosen but of the men he had to take in order to satisfy the claims of the various sections that had supported his nomination at Chicago. Very few of them regarded him with any respect. Seward, who became Secretary of State, expected to manage this simpleton of the backwoods as Davis had managed Pierce and as Clay had expected to manage Harrison and Tyler. He regarded the military preparations of the Confederacy as bluff, and held that North and South could be re-united in a foreign war against France, Spain, Britain or Russia. When Lincoln decided, against the majority of his cabinet, to provision Fort Sumter, Seward showed his hand. He gave the president a memorandum on his policy, suggesting that he should be given a free hand to carry it out. Lincoln's treatment of this proposal was a lesson to Seward, and henceforth he was a loyal and efficient colleague, but others were not. Cameron, for example, a rival candidate for the presidency who had been promised a seat in the Cabinet in return for the transfer of his supporters to Lincoln's side, had to be removed from the War Office for gross corruption and was succeeded by Stanton. Stanton proved an efficient man for his job, but he always treated Lincoln with undisguised contempt and hostility; also he became in due course a leader of the Radical wing of the Republican party, whose ideas about a post-war settlement were exactly the opposite of Lincoln's.

It takes, as we now know, many months to train raw recruits to stand the strain of modern war. Apart from the small U.S.A. regular army of 16,000 men all the Union forces in the summer of 1861 were raw recruits. But the public wanted quick results. In July, MacDowell crossed the Potomac into Virginia and attacked

* Southern Europeans also eat much less than British or Germans, but, unlike the Southern Americans, they prove on the whole inferior soldiers to their northern neighbours.

the Confederates under Beauregard at Bull Run. It was rather a ridiculous battle of amateurs in which anything might have happened, but it was the Union troops who ran away, though the Confederates were too disorganized to follow them. MacDowell was dismissed and the command of the 'army of the Potomac', as



THE EASTERN FRONT IN THE CIVIL WAR

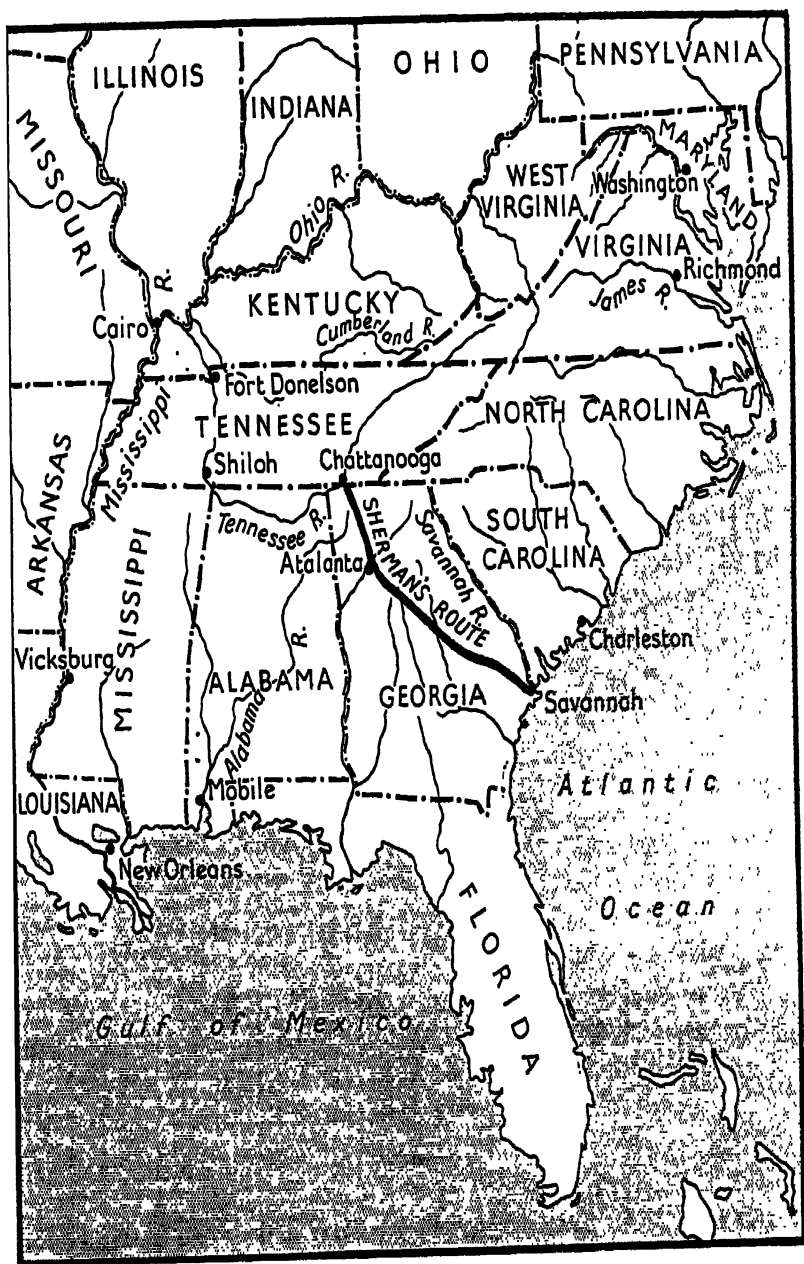
the Union forces between the mountains and the sea were called, was given to McClellan.*

Opinions differ about McClellan, but Lee's judgment that he was the best of all the Union generals should carry weight. At any rate, he realized that a long course of training was the first necessity and, from his point of view, the longer battles could be postponed the better. In battle he was to show himself skilful, but it seems that he lacked one quality essential to a great commander, the readiness to take risks. He was adored by his troops but unpopular with the public, who wanted results. He was apt to be unreasonable in his behaviour towards the government, asking for more than he could be given, and excusing his over-caution by alleging absurdly inflated estimates of the numbers opposed to him. The estimates were supplied by private detectives, and some say that they were composed in Washington taverns by men who never went near the Confederate armies.

Nothing much happened in the remainder of 1861 except the affair of the *Trent*, which brings the American Civil War into British history books. The *Trent* was a British steamer carrying two Confederate agents, Mason and Slidell, to Europe. She was stopped by Captain Wilkes of the Union navy on the high seas and allowed to proceed only after Mason and Slidell had been transferred to Captain Wilkes' ship. Wilkes had committed a breach of international law because he did not know the rules. If he had taken the *Trent* into a Union port she would have been condemned as performing an unneutral act and Mason and Slidell would have become legitimate prisoners of war. There was an outcry in England, and Russell, the foreign secretary, composed a most offensive despatch, which was fortunately re-written by Prince Albert before being sent. It was also perhaps fortunate that the newly-laid Atlantic cable had broken. Lincoln very reluctantly agreed to the surrender of the two agents, and the incident was closed.

We pass on to 1862. McClellan had a plan by means of which he was confident that, with the armies he had trained, he could occupy Richmond, the Confederate capital, only a hundred

* W. H. Russell, the famous war correspondent of the London *Times*, whose despatches had exposed the mismanagement of the Crimean war, wrote such a vivid account of the flight from Bull Run that he was forbidden to remain with the Union army and returned to England. He had visited both North and South on the eve of the war and his despatches emphasize the warlike enthusiasm of the South in contrast with the doubt and divided counsels prevailing in the North.



THE WAR IN THE WEST AND SOUTH

miles from Washington in a straight line but divided from it by several parallel rivers. The plan involved the transfer of the main Union army by sea to the York Peninsula,* and an advance on Richmond from the south-east. The Peninsular campaign began in March and ended in August, a total failure, though McClellan came within sight of his objective. Whether the failure was due to McClellan's timidity, to the unexpectedly marshy nature of the Peninsula country, or to the government for allowing McClellan less troops and less freedom of action than he had a right to expect—these are matters of argument which we cannot go into. McClellan was recalled and removed from his command.

During McClellan's absence in the Peninsula Washington was alarmed by a daring raid conducted by Jackson from the Shenandoah valley. Jackson's purpose was not to capture Washington but to keep the Union government from reinforcing McClellan, and he succeeded.

Meanwhile fighting was also in progress throughout the wide stretch of country from the Appalachian mountains to the Mississippi, and a future leader revealed himself in the person of Ulysses S. Grant. Grant disliked war and loathed army life but he never achieved greatness, or even ordinary successfulness, except on active service. After the Mexican war he had resigned from the army in order to escape a court martial for drunkenness, and had failed at a variety of humble jobs. By August 1861 he was in the army again, and a brigadier.† Grant's failures before the war mattered to no one but himself; his failures after the war proved unfortunate for his country.

Grant was stationed at Cairo (the 'New Eden' of *Martin Chuzzlewit*) where the Ohio joins the Mississippi. A short way up the Ohio, two more rivers, the Cumberland and the Tennessee, flow in from the south, providing parallel waterways into the states of Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi; in fact they constituted the 'backdoor' into the Confederate territory. Grant got permission early in 1862 to attack the forts which blocked the way up these two rivers. Fort Henry fell before Grant arrived on the scene, but the capture of Fort Donelson was a grand achievement. It was a fierce blind battle in a forest in the course of which Grant, discovering three days' rations in a prisoner's haversack,

* This was historic ground. Near-by were the ruins of Jamestown, the first Virginian settlement, and Yorktown where the War of Independence was won.

† 'Be careful, Ulyss,' wrote his father, 'you're a general now. It's a good job; don't lose it.'

deduced that the enemy, whose troops outnumbered his own, were trying to cut through a way of escape from the fort. He therefore concentrated his attack on driving them not out of it but into it, and when the Confederate commander proposed an armistice he wrote: 'No terms except unconditional surrender can be accepted'—and got what he asked for. Grant was entirely unknown in Washington, and the newspapers amused themselves with the idea that his initials U.S. stood for Unconditional Surrender. It was the first victory of the Union.

In April Grant fought at Shiloh, against a good Confederate general, A. S. Johnston, the fiercest battle of the war up to that date, each side losing over 10,000 men. When the casualties became known newspaper opinion demanded Grant's removal, but Lincoln said, 'I can't spare this man; he fights.' In the same month Admiral Farragut captured New Orleans from the sea.

Ironclad battleships were making their first appearance. The Confederates had protected the exposed parts of the frigate *Merrimac* with iron plates and stationed it at Fort Monroe on the York peninsula early in the year. It looked like nipping McClellan's peninsula plans in the bud by destroying his unprotected wooden ships, but it met its match in the Union *Monitor*. The two vessels bombarded each other without result for five hours, but the *Merrimac* had had enough and steamed away. Farragut did not believe in ironclads, and said that he did not intend to 'go to hell in a tea-kettle'.

The war had not been undertaken to abolish slavery but to restore the Union. Lincoln expressed his policy in a letter to Greeley of the *Tribune*:—'My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would do that.'

Lincoln was never a neutral on the subject of slavery, like Douglas; he regarded it as an evil and was convinced that it must ultimately be abolished. At the same time he was not an abolitionist; he knew that abolition would not solve the colour problem, as we call it, and he felt it would be far better that freedom should come as the voluntary decision of the southern states than that it should be forced on the Confederacy by a Union victory. Lincoln always thought of himself as responsible for the welfare of the whole Union, for those who were fighting

against him as much as for the rest. There were also the five slave states still loyal to the Union to be considered—Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri and (about to be admitted to statehood) West Virginia. Lincoln urged the governments of these states to take steps towards emancipating their own slaves and compensating their owners, but nothing was done.

However, two practical considerations were pushing Lincoln towards positive action on his own account. Public opinion, expressed in Congress and outside it, was beginning to demand a positive assurance that abolition was included in the government's war aims. Secondly, there was the military problem. Wherever the northern armies penetrated slave territory slavery automatically vanished, and the negroes flocked to the northern armies where they were declared 'contraband of war' and organized as labour battalions. The conquest of the Confederacy would clearly bring the old slave system to the ground, and it was inconceivable that it should be re-established.

For constitutional purposes slavery could be abolished only by an amendment, but Lincoln had wide and somewhat undefined powers as commander-in-chief of all American forces during a state of war. In July he proposed to declare that on the next New Year's Day all slaves in states still in rebellion would be deemed to be free; but Seward wisely advised him to postpone the proclamation until after some definite military success.

McClellan was succeeded by General Pope, who was not likely to suffer from over-caution. 'My headquarters', he said, 'will be in the saddle.*' He got himself soundly beaten at the second battle of Bull Run (August 1862). Lee pushed round north-west of Washington and invaded Maryland, his troops wooing that state with the song 'Maryland, my Maryland', sung to the tune which socialists now use for 'The Red Flag'. But Maryland refused to be wooed; she observed the bedraggled condition of Lee's veterans and some of the veterans observed the well-stocked orchards and piggeries of Maryland. The Confederate army in Maryland lost more in deserters than it gained in recruits.

McClellan, who had been restored to his command, met Lee at Antietam (September). A hard-fought battle ensued after which Lee had no choice but to retreat, and McClellan perhaps unnecessarily allowed him to get away across the Potomac and back

* 'A better place for his hind-quarters,' said Lincoln.

to Virginia. Up to a point McClellan had done very well. He had won a battle at a decisive moment against a great commander, but he had not 'followed through' as Lee himself or Grant would have done in the same circumstances. He was dismissed—and this time finally. He was succeeded by Burnside who, before the end of the year, delivered a violent attack on Lee's carefully-prepared positions at Fredericksburg, a battle which cost the Union thousands of lives and achieved nothing. There might be better generals than McClellan, but there were certainly also worse ones.

The victory of Antietam, however incomplete, had given Lincoln a suitable opportunity to publish his Emancipation proclamation. To-day it is regarded as one of the great landmarks of American history. At the time it made little difference to the course of the war. Even without the proclamation slavery broke down wherever the Union armies penetrated, and where they did not penetrate the proclamation had no power. Nor was opinion within the Union greatly heartened. In the mid-term Congress elections of November (1862) the Democratic party, with a more or less openly pacifist or 'stop the war' policy, gained ground at the expense of the Lincolnite Republicans. Only in Europe and more particularly in England did the proclamation carry weight. Many Englishmen who cared nothing about the restoration of the American Union were ready to give their blessing to a crusade against slavery.

Much more immediately important in American eyes was the Homestead Act of 1862, which threw open to settlement the public lands of the west. Under this Act any citizen of the United States could stake out 160 acres and occupy it on payment of a small registration fee. At the end of five years, if he had continuously lived on it and cultivated it, the land became his absolute property. This settled a problem that had been worrying politicians ever since the establishment of the Union. Some, such as Clay and J. Q. Adams, had wanted to charge substantial prices for allotments of new lands and to use the proceeds for the development of transport, schools and other amenities. But the settlers simply would not have it; they just occupied the land they wanted, and the further the west extended the more unpopular and impracticable did the Adams-Clay policy become. In the 1856 and 1860 elections, the Republicans, the new party of the North, offered a free land policy as a bait to secure the votes of the West; and the promise was now fulfilled. Homestead

Acts similar to that enacted in 1862 had been before Congress off and on for the previous twenty years, but they had always been defeated by a combination of those who adopted the statesmanlike ideas of Clay and Adams with those who found they could make fortunes as 'middlemen', buying public lands and selling to settlers at a profit.

THE CIVIL WAR 1863-65

After his tragic failure at Fredericksburg the incompetent Burnside was relieved of his command and the army of the Potomac entrusted to Hooker—'Fighting Joe Hooker'—who fell into a trap arranged for him by Lee and Jackson at Chancellorsville (May 1863). It was another expensive and humiliating defeat for the Union.* Once again Lee slipped across the Potomac and invaded Pennsylvania, where he encountered Meade (Hooker's successor) in the three days' battle of Gettysburg. This drawn battle proved terribly expensive to both sides, but the loss was more serious for the Confederacy since they had far less reserves to draw upon. As after Antietam in the previous year, Lee was allowed to get his army back to Virginia.

Meanwhile more decisive events were happening out west. The chief task for 1863 was to be the clearing of the Mississippi. The Union held all the upper reaches of the river and its mouth at New Orleans, but connexion between them was blocked by the Confederate forces at Vicksburg. The capture of Vicksburg was a difficult problem. It stood on a bank two hundred feet high falling steeply to the enormous river, and all around on both banks were wide areas of marsh and forest. Grant struggled with the problem for months, and the capture of Vicksburg, which he secured on July 3rd, the last day of the battle of Gettysburg, was his finest achievement. Gettysburg and Vicksburg together constitute the turning point of the war. Henceforth, if the Union chose to persist, the destruction of the Confederacy was only a matter of time.

The Confederacy was the victim of blockade from the early days of the war, and the planters' wives who ran the plantations while their husbands were at the front, felt the pinch more and more severely, but within the Union life went on much as usual. War stimulated invention, particularly in the clothing industries.

* Stonewall Jackson was killed in this battle, being accidentally shot by one of his own men.

Sewing-machines, first introduced fifteen years earlier, now enjoyed a boom and were among the first goods to be sold on the hire-purchase system. Another important new machine was the McKay machine for sewing the 'uppers' of boots to their soles. Petroleum had been first discovered in Pennsylvania in 1859 and 128,000,000 gallons were extracted in 1862, not of course for driving internal-combustion engines but to be used in lamps, as paraffin or kerosene, instead of whale oil. Immigration continued unchecked—800,000 in the five war years. Big fortunes were made, assisted by the stringent protective tariff which was part of the declared Republican policy. New states were added to the Union—Kansas, whose name was already too familiar, and Nevada, of which no one had heard before; it was up in the mountains behind California and what proved a rather disappointing goldfield had been just opened up there.

Like Great Britain in the first world war (1914-18) the Union did not introduce conscription until half-way through. Indeed the methods of raising troops pursued by Lincoln's government both before and after the introduction of conscription strike us to-day as extraordinarily inefficient and unfair. The honest and outspoken opponents of the war, nicknamed Copperheads (a poisonous snake), were always a minority, but so also were those who were prepared to make any sacrifice for the cause. The ordinary northerner applauded the war when it went well, but at other times he began to wonder what it was all about and whether it was worth fighting. Perhaps the real triumph of Lincoln's statesmanship was that he succeeded in keeping his people's noses to the grindstone of war, through four weary years of continual disappointments, until the job was done.

The chief feature of the conscription law of 1863 was that each state was to furnish a certain quota of men, and if the number was not made up by volunteers it had to be completed by conscription. The conscripts were chosen by lot and those who were chosen and did not want to serve could get out of it, either by paying 300 dollars to the state or by paying someone else to go as a substitute. Thus only the poor could be compelled to fight: anything less worthy of democracy and the Declaration of Independence can hardly be imagined. The conscription law led to serious riots in New York, the rioters being chiefly the poor and half-savage Irish immigrants, who hated both the war and the 'niggers'. For several days the largest city in America was in the hands of the mob. Houses were burnt, shops looted, negroes

tortured and lynched, and order was only restored by the intervention of detachments from the Union army. The New York riots came ten days after Gettysburg and Vicksburg, and no fair picture of America during the Civil War can afford to omit them.

To return to the fighting. Interest in the latter half of 1863 concentrated on the Tennessee valley at Chattanooga in the Alleghanies, near the point where the frontiers of Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia intersect. Chattanooga was a key point on the Confederate railway system, a junction of lines running north-east to Virginia, south-east to Charleston and Atlanta, the capital of Georgia, from which another line ran to Mobile, Alabama, on the Gulf of Mexico. There was also a line westwards from Chattanooga to Memphis on the Mississippi.

The Union general Rosecrans occupied Chattanooga in September but had to fight a stubborn battle soon after at Chickamauga, where the Union fortunes were saved by Thomas, one of the few Virginians who served the Union cause. Then Grant arrived, and cleared up the situation with the victorious battle of Chattanooga.

The operations of 1864 are easily grasped. Grant was summoned to Washington and made general-in-chief of all the armies of the Union. He took charge of the army of the Potomac and set himself to wear the Confederate forces down by what was called a war of attrition. He reckoned that he could afford heavy casualties and that Lee could not; it was the policy of the Allies on the western front during the middle years of the war of 1914-18, and some of Grant's battles were trench warfare battles of that type that became familiar, on a far more elaborate scale, in 1914-18. The terrible hammering battles of 1864 have obscured Grant's reputation as a great strategist and tactician, which he had earned on his record of 1862-63, and have led people to think of him as a mere 'brute force' soldier. The principal Grant-Lee battles of 1864 were the Wilderness (May), Spottsylvania (May) and Coldharbor (June). In the latter half of the year he kept comparatively quiet, for the decisive work was being done elsewhere.

Meanwhile Sherman in the west advanced from Chattanooga to the outskirts of Atlanta in July, his advance being skilfully contested by the Confederate army under J. B. Johnston. Atlanta, the capital of Georgia, was one of the principal railway and industrial centres of the Confederacy, and its siege looked a very

PLATE XI

ABRAHAM LINCOLN (1809-1865)

Lincoln's last photograph, taken on
9th, 1865—the day the Civil War
ended. Five days later he was assassinated.



Living in Washington as President,
February 23rd, 1861. The picture
is a locomotive of the period.



PLATE XII
SOME FAMOUS AMERICANS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY



WALT WHITMAN
(1819-1892)



MARK TWAIN
(1835-1910)



THOMAS EDISON



MARY BAKER EDDY

formidable undertaking. Jefferson Davis, with an excess of optimism which became more and more marked as the prospects of his cause grew darker, declared that Sherman would have to retreat as disastrously as Napoleon had retreated from Moscow. But Sherman occupied Atlanta in September and, abandoning his line of communications, advanced through Georgia, destroying everything in his way on a sixty-mile-wide front. He reached Savannah, on the coast, just before Christmas.

In the summer of 1864 the Confederate general Early repeated Stonewall Jackson's exploit of 1862 and, using the long straight line of the Shenandoah valley, raided to within five miles of Washington, but it was no more than a raid and caused no such panic as its predecessor. In October Sheridan, having defeated Early at Cedar Creek, devastated the Shenandoah valley so completely that 'a crow flying over it would have to carry its own rations'.

The Union, unlike Britain in her recent great wars, maintained her punctual time-table of elections through the Civil War, and a presidential election was due in November 1864. The Republican party convention nominated Lincoln for a second term, in spite of the misgivings of the Radical section who wanted a candidate who could be relied on to give the beaten enemy the punishment he would deserve after the war was over. The Democratic party convention, after adopting a 'stop the war' programme framed by Vallandigham, the most notorious pacifist in the Union, nominated McClellan as its presidential candidate. So those who wanted to vote against the government could vote, not alternatively but simultaneously, for a programme which assumed the war could not be won and a candidate who assumed that he could have won it himself long ago if he had been given a fair chance. In the summer of 1864 pacifism, stimulated by Greeley, the unstable editor of the *New York Tribune*, reached its high-water mark. Some held that the war could not be won; others, that it was not worth winning; others, that if only Lincoln would open negotiations with Davis, the Confederacy would accept re-absorption into the Union. Many thought Lincoln would fail to secure re-election; but the victories of the autumn, Sherman in Georgia and Sheridan in the Shenandoah valley, turned the scale in his favour. In the end he carried nearly every Union state, but most of them by very small majorities; his majority in the electoral college was 212 to 21, but on the popular count he had only fifty-five per cent of the voters.

In 1865 the war was soon over, not because the Confederates could not fight any more but because they would not do so; they just deserted their armies in thousands. Sherman advanced up the coast through the Carolinas. Grant opened the attack on Lee at the beginning of April. Lee's position was hopeless; he showed the white flag and asked Grant for an interview. They met at a farm called Appomattox Court House. The scene, described long afterwards by Grant in his memoirs, is perhaps more vividly remembered to-day than any of the battles:—Lee, splendidly dignified in his full-dress uniform; Grant, looking shabby and insignificant in his favourite wear, a private's battle-dress unbuttoned, 'his feelings sad and depressed at the downfall of a foe who had fought so long and so valiantly'. They talked together of 'old army times' and Grant had almost forgotten the business in hand when Lee asked him on what terms he would accept surrender. Grant sat down to write, and as he wrote Lee asked if the Confederate troopers might keep their horses, as they would be badly needed on the farms. Grant at once agreed. 'This will have the best possible effect on the men,' said Lee; 'it will do much towards conciliating our people.'

A few days later Lincoln made a little speech to a cheering crowd in Washington and after it they asked him to name a song. He answered, 'The songs of the South are now our songs. Bid the band play "Dixie"'.* It is actions such as that which make Lincoln one of the most adorable characters in history. The war was not quite over, but nearly. Johnston surrendered to Sherman on April 26th, and the last Confederate forces beyond the Mississippi laid down their arms in May. In the same month Jefferson Davis, defiant to the last, was captured by a troop of Union cavalry.

In the whole course of the war the Union had employed well over two million men in its fighting services and the Confederacy rather under one million. The Union had about 350,000 killed and the Confederacy 250,000. It was the greatest and most destructive war fought in any part of the world between Waterloo and 1914. The great bulk of the casualties were men of British (English, Welsh, Scotch and Northern Irish) stock. The war, in fact, diminished the British element in American population just at the time when increasing streams of predominantly non-British immigrants were pouring in.

* The war song of the Confederacy. 'Dixie' was a popular and unofficial name for the South country.

Throughout the four years of war Lincoln grew steadily in wisdom and power. The most famous of all his speeches is the very brief address he delivered at the dedication of the cemetery on the battlefield of Gettysburg. It expresses his faith in human freedom and in democratic institutions, and his conviction that the future of freedom and democracy was bound up with the restoration of the American Union. The events of the second world war have thrown a striking light on Lincoln's prophetic power. This is the whole speech.

'Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

'Now we are engaged in a great civil war testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and dedicated, can survive. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

'But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth in freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.'

The war had filled all Lincoln's first term of office, but he had been elected to a second term which could be devoted to the not less difficult and certainly not less important problems of the post-war settlement. For a military victory, however complete, can be wasted by an unwise use of it. The spirit in which Lincoln would approach these problems had already been shown in his generous treatment of southern states already reconquered before the end of the war, such as Tennessee and Louisiana. His plan was that as soon as one-tenth of those who had voted in the 1860 election had taken an oath of allegiance to the Union and had acknowledged the abolition of slavery, the state should be readmitted to the Union with its self-governing institutions as intact as

circumstances allowed. More particularly, the restored states were to retain control of their franchise; they were to decide for themselves what negroes, if any, should be admitted to full citizenship. Congress was in open hostility to Lincoln's plans on this subject.

This spirit of his policy was expressed in the last words of his second inaugural address, delivered when he took office for his second presidential term, on March 4th, 1865.

'With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.'

Six weeks later, ten days after Lee's surrender at Appomattox, Lincoln was assassinated by an actor named Booth, while attending a performance at a Washington theatre. The murderer leapt from the box on to the stage and, crying '*Sic semper tyrannis*', escaped from the theatre.*

Walt Whitman in his moving poem on the death of Lincoln—'O captain! my captain!'—suggests that Lincoln died in the moment of victory with his task accomplished. He died in the moment of victory, no doubt, but his task was not accomplished; only the first half of it. Under the title of 'Reconstruction' the most disgraceful chapter in American history was about to open. If Lincoln had lived, would he have proved strong enough to hold back the Congress politicians from the wicked follies on which their minds were set? We cannot tell, but we can be sure he would have done his best to stop them and to direct reconstruction on to the lines he had already laid down. Whatever came of it, Lincoln's second term of office (1865-69) would have proved one of the most enthralling chapters of American history, but that chapter was not to be written.

Lincoln's character is such a fascinating subject that I am tempted to add two points to supplement the impression conveyed by the record of his career.

It is a mistake to think of Lincoln as merely a very 'good' man, combining indomitable courage and will-power with Christian charity. He had also a brain of quite exceptional quality. Mr. Justice Holmes, who is generally recognized as one of the greatest lawyers of modern America, said that he never realized the full

* See Appendix III, *The Murder of President Lincoln*.

range of Lincoln's intellectual power till he read Lincoln's marginal notes on the memoranda submitted to him by his cabinet ministers.

At the same time Lincoln's greatness in essentials should not blind us to the fact that he sometimes showed, especially in the early days of his presidency, a strain of clownishness which must have been tiresome to people who had enjoyed greater social advantages, and made it difficult for them to discern his greatness. Any life of Lincoln gives examples; they generally take the form of silly jokes on inappropriate occasions. Such things are unimportant, but they help to explain why most of the politicians and soldiers who saw him at close quarters during his presidency did not honour him as later generations have done.

RECONSTRUCTION 1865-77

The vice-president, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, who became president on Lincoln's assassination, was, like Lincoln, born in extreme poverty. He had had no more school education than Lincoln and had done much less to educate himself; he could not write until after marriage, when he was taught by his wife. But he was an honest, able and vigorous man. In politics he had been a Jacksonian democrat, a champion of the 'poor whites' of his state, an opponent of the slave-owners but not much interested one way or another in the welfare of the slaves. He had twice been elected governor of Tennessee in the pre-war years, and was one of the senators of his state when it seceded from the Union. He disapproved of this step, and he was the only senator of any seceding state who did not withdraw from the Senate. He thus became a leading representative of the small southern minority that actively supported Lincoln's policy. When Tennessee was largely reoccupied by Union armies in 1862 Lincoln appointed him military governor of his state, and it was by Lincoln's wish that he had been nominated as candidate for the vice-presidency. His record suggests that he would be a suitable man to shoulder the burden of the post-war settlement—'reconstruction' as it was called—which Lincoln had laid down with his life; and so far as intentions went he was. But he had serious faults; he was tactless in the handling of men and given to making violent and foolish speeches. His temper, says a modern writer, had a very low boiling point. He was a simple, rough-and-ready, self-made man;

he had none of Lincoln's inexhaustible patience and profound wisdom. When Lincoln made mistakes, as he often did, he found ways of retrieving them; when Johnson made mistakes his efforts to retrieve them got him into a worse mess than before. He was destined to be perhaps the most tragic figure among American presidents.

Johnson took over and adopted Lincoln's reconstruction policy, which has been already described, and at first all seemed to go well. A thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, abolishing slavery, had been carried through Congress before Lincoln's death and became law, being accepted by the legislatures of three-quarters of the states, before the end of 1865. Six weeks after becoming president Johnson issued a proclamation granting pardon to all 'rebels' on condition of their taking an oath of loyalty to the Union, and though certain classes, such as ex-officers of the Confederate army and navy, were excluded from the general pardon, they were assured that, if they would personally petition for pardon, each individual case would receive generous consideration. Hundreds of officers petitioned and were restored to full citizen rights. Johnson appointed emergency governors for each of the Confederate states, and these summoned elected conventions,* which adopted new state constitutions, accepted the thirteenth amendment, and appointed senators to represent their states in Congress.

The new state legislatures proceeded to enact what were called 'black codes', regulating the legal status of the emancipated negroes, who in several southern states were nearly as numerous as the white population and in South Carolina outnumbered them. These codes varied from state to state, but in general they gave the ex-slaves the essential rights to own and inherit property, to make contracts, and to go to law in pursuance of their legal rights, but they did not give them a right to vote at elections; and it is to be remembered that the great majority of the northern states, where the negroes were so few as to be politically insignificant, had never given them this right. Some of the black codes, by excluding negroes from certain professions and occupations, showed that jealousy of 'black' competition which appears in all

* This term is used both in Britain and America to denote an assembly elected for a special emergency under special circumstances, e.g. the Convention of Philadelphia which made the Constitution, the Convention of Montgomery which set up the Confederacy, or the 'Convention parliament' which invited Charles II to return to England in 1660. The word is of course also used in a different sense, to mean an agreement or proposed treaty.

communities where black and white live in large numbers side by side, e.g. in present-day South Africa. But on the whole it seems to be the general opinion of modern American historians that the 'black codes' of 1865 were a very fair attempt to tackle an appallingly difficult problem, the reconstruction of social life in communities where a defeated and impoverished slave-owning class had to start life afresh in the midst of their emancipated slaves.

Throughout 1865 Johnson had acted without Congress, for the Congress elected in November 1864 was not due to meet until December 1865, in accordance with the Constitution. This must always seem to English people an extraordinary arrangement, but it was so ordained. Presidents could, and often did, summon the new Congress earlier for an 'emergency session' but they need not do so.* In December 1865, however, the meeting of Congress could no longer be postponed. It met, and proceeded to destroy Johnson's work and Lincoln's policy, and it is important to understand why it did so. We will give the lesser reasons first.

(i) All through American history one can trace a rivalry between president and Congress—each of them elected representatives of the whole American people. This rivalry corresponds in some ways to the old English rivalry between king and parliament. It finds no parallel in any rivalry between the English prime minister and parliament, for the prime minister is created by the House of Commons and can at any moment be removed by its vote. We have noticed this president-and-Congress rivalry under Jackson and we shall note it later on under Cleveland and Wilson, but a detailed history would show traces of it in every presidency. In any war the chief executive officer, president or prime minister, must claim and secure powers of action far wider than belong to them in peace time. Lincoln had secured such powers, and had been more of a 'dictator' than had ever been seen before in the United States. Congress had been relegated to a back seat, and it was determined to reassert its position.

(ii) The motive of party politics. Under the old constitutional law the southern states were allowed to include three-fifths of their slave population in reckoning the number of their representatives in the House. There were now no slaves and consequently

* This has now been altered by an amendment of the Constitution which came into force in 1933. Congress now meets in January (two months after election) instead of December (thirteen months after election). This same amendment makes the newly-elected president take office on January 3 instead of March 4.

the whole negro population, whether given the vote or not, could be included in the reckoning.* If reconstruction were allowed to proceed on what we may call 'Johnsonian' lines, the result of the northern victory in the Civil War would be to increase the representation of the defeated South in the House. The old Democratic party would re-arise and, combining with northern Democrats or free-traders, might destroy the high tariff policy which was, for the big business interests of the North, the main plank of the Republican party policy.

(iii) But far stronger than the Congress *v.* president or the Republican protectionist *v.* Democratic free-trade motives was the motive of hatred and vengeance. For a whole generation the 'Yankees' had gnashed their teeth at the insolence of the southern 'gentleman' planter. Now the southerners had bitten the dust, and the baser elements in the North were determined to rub their noses in it. Such a policy was, it need hardly be said, the exact opposite of Lincoln's who always, even during the war, thought of the Confederates as his fellow countrymen. It differed from Lincoln's policy as darkness differs from light. In some of its exponents hatred of the southern white man was disguised as solicitude for the welfare of the negro; such an attitude in most cases only added hypocrisy to the more manly vice of hatred.

Three very evil men, their names all beginning with the same letter, are to be specially associated with the Congressional policy of the next few years, the reversal of Johnson's policy and, so far as was humanly possible, the ruin of the South—Stevens, Sumner and Stanton. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, who became leader of the Radical Republicans (as the vengeance party called themselves) in the House of Representatives, was a clever politician with great gifts for propaganda and organization and no scruples. He was an embittered old man of over seventy and his motive was simple hate. If he had a personal reason for his policy it may be found in the fact that his mill was destroyed by Lee's soldiers in the Gettysburg campaign; but he was of the type which delights to trample on a conquered enemy even though personal motive be absent.

Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts was a much more complex type, and though no one seems to have a good word to say for him now he was accepted as an honoured friend by many

* See page 69, and the Constitution itself, page 286. It is to be noted that the number of states representatives in the House depended not on the number of its qualified voters but on its total population.

good men in his own day and on occasions gave valuable advice to Lincoln. He was perhaps the greatest of the disciples of Garrison, an abolitionist who idealized the negro and believed or pretended to believe that he ought to be placed in all respects on an equality with the white man, and above the Confederate white man, who had committed the unforgivable sin of rebellion. But a lot of hatred was mingled with Sumner's idealism, and his mind had been permanently warped by an accident which befell him a few years before the Civil War. He had made a speech offensively insulting to certain slave-owners, and Preston Brooks, a young Congressman related to one of these slave-owners, came up to Sumner afterwards and smote him on the head with a stick. Sumner's physical injuries were severe, and unkind persons say that he made them out to be even worse than they really were. Perhaps his injuries were more mental than physical. Certainly some of his speeches, and in particular his personal abuse of President Johnson, suggest an unbalanced mind. Sumner led the Senate, as Stevens led the House.*

Perhaps the worst of the three was Edwin Stanton, who had been Secretary for War in Lincoln's cabinet and as such has already been mentioned. He was a thorough 'Radical' but had been useful as a war administrator. Why Johnson retained him in his cabinet is rather a mystery. Perhaps he thought that by so doing he could keep on good terms with the Radical wing of the party and bring them round to his policy. The result was far otherwise; Stanton was disloyal to Johnson from the first, acted in unofficial but undisguised alliance with Stevens and Sumner, and betrayed to them any cabinet secrets they might want to know. The darker (and unproved) suspicions regarding Stanton are discussed in Appendix III.

The two Houses of Congress opened their campaign by refusing to admit to their membership the senators and representatives elected by the white electorates of the reconstructed southern states. It seems they were entitled by the Constitution to do this. They then carried by the necessary two-thirds majority a complicated measure which ultimately became the fourteenth amendment; its main point was that no state was entitled to make laws

* The Sumner-Brooks story runs curiously parallel with the little poem of Goldsmith about the mad dog, ending 'the dog it was that died'. Brooks found himself a hero with the 'toughs' of the South after his exploit but, being himself a gentleman, he was overcome with remorse for what he had done, took to his bed, and died. 'The man recovered from the bite', as we have related.

depriving negroes of any of the rights enjoyed by white citizens of that state. No ex-Confederate state was to be reinstated in the Union until it had accepted this amendment.

In the autumn of 1866 came the 'mid-term' Congressional elections, when one-third of the Senate and the whole of the House are re-elected. It seems probable that the country as a whole was much less set on vengeance than the outgoing Congress had been, and that if Johnson had been skilful he might have secured a majority for his policy. But he made every kind of mistake and his enemies took advantage of them. It was at this time that the absurd rumour was put about that Johnson had been implicated in the plot to murder Lincoln. The Radicals secured an increased majority and were henceforth able to carry most of their measures by a two-thirds majority and thus deprive the president of his power to veto them.

The new Congress (1867) proceeded to pass its own Reconstruction Act, by which the South was divided into five military districts, under generals who were made subordinate not to Johnson but to Grant, as commander-in-chief of the army. Under these military governors new conventions were to be elected in each ex-Confederate state, all male negroes over twenty being registered as voters and a large section of the whites disfranchised. These 'black and tan' conventions framed new constitutions and accepted the fourteenth amendment. The unfortunate negroes, completely demoralized by the treatment meted out to them, were mere tools in the hands of two classes of white men whose nicknames have attained an unpleasant celebrity, the 'carpet-baggers' and the 'scalawags'. The 'carpet-baggers' were Radical agents from the North; the 'scalawags' were southern 'quislings' (as we called such people in the second world war) who were willing to play the northerner's game. These adventurers organized the negro for political purposes through an institution called the Freedmen's Bureau. Originally established by the Federal government immediately after the war for the purpose of helping and guiding the ex-slaves to establish themselves in money-earning occupations, it now became an instrument for establishing negro misrule throughout the conquered states.

Under this régime unbelievable corruption ensued. Perhaps the worst case was the once proud state of South Carolina. Here the legislature of 155 members contained 98 negroes of whom only 22 could either read or write. Under the guidance of a 'carpet-bag' governor (who made a substantial fortune for

himself) they proceeded to vote to themselves at the public expense such articles as champagne, hams, oval library tables with carved legs, Brussels carpets, gold watches, carriages and ornamental cuspidors (i.e. receptacles for spitting). Nothing was done for the real benefit of the negroes, for money voted for schools and such-like purposes found its way into the pockets of the carpet-baggers and scalawags.

Meanwhile Congress proceeded to attack the president by carrying over his head a Tenure of Office Act, according to which the president was forbidden to dismiss any member of his cabinet without the consent of Congress. Johnson defied the Act and dismissed Stanton—which he ought to have done long before. Thereupon Congress proceeded to impeach President Johnson on a charge of ‘high crimes and misdemeanours’, in parody of the ancient English procedure which was legalized by the American Constitution. The House prosecuted, and the Senate took the place of the House of Lords in England and acted as judges. A two-thirds majority was required for conviction and the voting of the senators failed by one vote to secure this result.

This was in 1868 and in November of that year the presidential election was due. Grant, a great soldier but a mere child in politics as events were to prove, was the Republican candidate, and one would have expected him to secure a sweeping majority, but it is a notable fact that he would have been defeated by his Democratic rival but for the support of the negro vote in the ‘reconstructed’ states. The main points made by the Democratic party in the electoral campaign were that each southern state ought to be left, according to the Constitution, to fix its own franchise, and that at many points the Congressional reconstruction policy had violated the Constitution—as was afterwards proved to be so. Indeed during these years Congress was guilty of amazing illegalities, as well as of worse crimes. To take only one example. The Tenure of Office Act stated that the president could not dismiss a minister he had himself appointed. Stanton had been appointed not by Johnson but by Lincoln, and Johnson had therefore not committed the principal ‘high crime and misdemeanour’ alleged against him in his impeachment.

Meanwhile the northern rule by force of the conquered South was being brought to an end by the only possible reply to force—namely force. Various secret societies were formed among the

disfranchised ex-soldiers of the Confederate armies, the best known being the Ku Klux Klan, and set themselves to terrorize the negro voter and to render carpet-bagger-negro government intolerable—to the negroes and carpet-baggers. Stevens had died in 1868 and his party began to lose confidence in itself and its policy. For a time Congress met the K.K.K. menace with increased military garrisons but the game began to seem not worth the candle. In one state after another, between 1869 and 1875, the Federal garrisons were withdrawn and southern whites allowed to resume control of their own states and to adopt measures which practically excluded the negro vote, in defiance of the fifteenth amendment (1870) which had completed the work of the fourteenth by explicitly establishing equality of franchise irrespective of colour.

By 1876 Federal troops had been withdrawn and carpet-bagger-negro governments overthrown in all but three states—South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. In November of that year a presidential election took place, Grant being about to complete his second term of office. The candidates were Hayes (Republican) and Tilden (Democrat). It appeared that Tilden had won by a small margin, but the Republicans disputed the electoral college returns in the three carpet-bagger states, where improper methods had apparently been used by both sides. Congress appointed a committee with a Republican majority, to investigate the complaints, and the committee arranged a deal. Tilden, the rightfully elected candidate, was sacrificed, but the Federal garrisons were to be withdrawn from the three states. The Republicans got their president and the Democrats got their policy.

Thus the tyranny of the North ended at last, twelve years after the end of the war, in a characteristically ignominious manner. The last remnants of Congressional reconstruction were swept away and the Lincoln-Johnson policy, not only the right but in the long run the only possible policy, was allowed, in spite of the unrepented fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, to take its place. The ex-Confederates were once again masters of their own states and re-enacted their black codes—black codes far less generous to the negro than they might have remained if Stevens and his gang had not intruded. But 'the evil that men do lives after them'; Congressional reconstruction had created a bitterness between white man and negro in the South, and between the southern states and the rest of the Union, which was not to be

easily or quickly assuaged. If the Lincoln-Johnson policy had been pursued without interruption the wounds of the Civil War might have been healed in a few years. As it is, it would take a bold man to say that they were healed before the end of the century.

No modern American who knows anything about the history of his country regards Congressional reconstruction with any feelings other than regret and disgust. But some modern American historians have hinted at a parallel between the northern treatment of the South after the Civil War and the Allied, more particularly the French, treatment of Germany after the war of 1914-18. The parallel is a false one and should not be allowed to pass uncriticized. Germany had invaded France, fought her major campaigns in that country, and inflicted on it incalculable damage while her own territory, even after defeat, remained practically unscathed. Moreover she was a foreign country, and a country capable, as events afterwards showed, of arising again to her full powers and seeking revenge. None of these things were true of the defeated Confederacy. Except for the brief raids of 1862 (Antietam) and 1863 (Gettysburg) her forces had not touched Union territory, and she had herself been thoroughly ravaged in the later stages of the war. She was not a foreign country but, on Union principles, a section of the Union re-annexed, and she constituted no menace for the future. The North would obviously continue to grow stronger at her expense—that indeed had been one of the motives of the secession; and in 1865 the southern whites were not only conquered but convinced that their cause was irretrievably lost. Most of them were probably convinced that secession had from the first been a mistake. On this point the evidence of General Grant himself, who toured the South in 1865 and reported his impressions to President Johnson, is conclusive.

We are not concerned here to defend the treaty of Versailles or the behaviour of France to Germany in the years following it; these are large and complicated matters which it would be absurd to discuss. We are only concerned to show that France, and indeed the other Allies also, had far better reasons for severity to Germany after 1918 than the North had for severity to the South after 1865. The only fair parallels to the treatment of the South by the North during the reconstruction period must be found in cases where a victor had conquered and annexed, and then

maltreated, what it regarded as part of its own rightful territory. Such a parallel may be found, in the comparatively distant past, in the British treatment of conquered Ireland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There also are wounds, older wounds, not yet healed.

Modern America Emerges 1865-1900

THE ANARCHY OF THE MILLIONAIRES

AMERICAN history as a whole seems to be composed of three stories. First there is the story of the colonies, their growth, their rebellion against Britain and their agreement to establish a federal Union. This story covers nearly two centuries and reaches its climax in the career of Washington: when it ends the population of the country was only four millions. Then comes the story of the Union in its earlier form, when it was never quite clear whether individual states possessed the right to withdraw from it or not; the growing alienation of North and South; secession and the re-annexation of the South. This story covers three-quarters of a century and reaches its climax in the career of Lincoln; when he died, in 1865, the population of the country was about thirty-four millions. We now enter on the third story, and the difficulty arises that the story is not yet finished and we cannot therefore be clear about its plot. Will some future historian be able to say that it is the story of the growth of U.S.A. to a position as perhaps the greatest of 'world powers', and of its acceptance of the call to co-operate with Europe, from which the ancestors of its citizens had once emigrated, in the establishment of some kind of Federal Union of the World? and that this story reached its climax in the career of Franklin Roosevelt? We cannot yet tell. We will content ourselves with saying that the period from the end of the 'second story' to the present day (1865-1941) is now exactly the same length as the whole period covered by the 'second story' (1789-1865) and that the population of the Union is now a hundred and thirty-two millions.*

In this chapter we are concerned with only the first half of this third story, the United States in the last third of the nineteenth century, in most respects a rather featureless and confusing period, of which the keynote is mere growth—growth in population, in wealth, in industrial resources and so on; but it is an unregulated

* I leave this paragraph exactly as it was written in September, 1941, a few months before U.S.A. entered the second world war.

growth of the body, the limbs and muscles, the flesh and bones, of the United States without much intelligent control by its head. 'Business' quite overtopped politics and went its own way. Millionaires were bigger men than presidents. 'What do I care about the law? ain't I got the power?' said Cornelius Vanderbilt of New York, the first American to leave a fortune of over 100,000,000 dollars. These millionaires bought Congressmen as easily as they could buy hogs, though they had to pay a higher price for them, says a modern American writer. In fact the period is full of the most astounding 'scandals'—millionaire serpents offering apples to political Eves, who proved only too ready to accept them and then to go and vote according to the serpents' instructions. It is creditable to modern American historians that they have devoted almost too much attention to unravelling these scandals, but the details of such matters are no longer interesting; however, the title given to this section, 'the anarchy of the millionaires', is a very fair description of the whole period.

But there would have been no millionaires to give trouble if there had not also been the circumstances that make millionaires possible, an astounding development of all the material aspects of civilization, a development based on the growth of population and the progress of invention.

Take first the facts of population. The census figures for the years 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900 were in millions 31·4, 38·5, 50·2, 63, 76. These figures suggest acceleration, but that impression is mistaken. On an earlier page of this book it was remarked that from the Union up to the Civil War, population increased by one-third every ten years, with extraordinary regularity. A one-third increase was never again attained. If we carry the figures down to the present day the declining rate of increase becomes still more marked. In the seventy years between 1790 and 1860 the population was multiplied by eight; if this rate had continued it would have reached 240,000,000 by 1930. Even the post-1860 increases are very large compared with those shown in any European country of the same date, but it must be remembered that the American increases were swelled by an enormous immigration—an immigration which was at the same time an emigration, or subtraction, from the populations of various European countries. The Union had its highest percentage increase in 1800-10, when immigration was almost nil; it nearly reached the same high figures in 1840-60, owing to the marked increase of immigration during those twenty years. The

greater immigrations of the 1870-1900 failed to bring the percentage increase for any of these three decades up to the figure of the lowest decade of the pre-1860 period. The conclusion is obvious. The old colonial and mainly British stock has been for long failing to reproduce itself. The increase of American population after 1860 (unlike, for example, the somewhat parallel increase of Russian population) has not been due to 'natural' increase, as it is called, but very largely to immigration. The vast bulk of Englishmen have ancestors who were Englishmen at the time of the Napoleonic wars. Though the American Civil War is fifty years nearer to the present day, a large part of the American population of to-day have ancestors who were not Americans at all at the time of the Civil War.

Census date	Total population (Millions)	Increase (Millions)	Percentage increase
1790	3.9		
1800	5.3	1.4	35.1
1810	7.2	1.9	36.4
1820	9.6	2.4	33.1
1830	12.9	3.2	33.5
1840	17	4.2	32.7
1850	23.2	6.1	35.9
1860	31.4	8.3	35.6
1870	38.6	7.1	22.6
1880	50.2	11.6	30.1
1890	63	12.8	25.5
1900	76	13	20.7
1910	92	16	21
1920	105.7	13.8	14.5
1930	122.7	17	16
1940	131.4	8.7	7.2
1950	150.7	19.3	13.3

Immigration did not stop for the Civil War. The decade 1850-60 had brought two and a half millions, the 'sixties brought the same and the 'seventies rather more, but the 'eighties beat all previous records by bringing over five millions. The figures for the 'nineties were rather lower but the first fourteen years of the twentieth century, before the first world war closed the sea routes, brought no less than ten millions. More important even than the growth of numbers was the change in the nationality of

the immigrants. We have seen how the pre-Civil War immigrants were fairly equally divided between British, Irish and German origins, and this state of affairs lasted till 1880, with the addition of a large number of Scandinavians. All these were fairly easily absorbed into the main currents of American life. In 1882 these stocks still constituted seven-eighths of the annual total, but they never did so again. By 1907 their combined contribution had fallen to *one*-eighth of the annual immigrant total, the remaining seven-eighths being for the most part made up of Italians, Jugoslavs from the Austrian Empire, Russian and Polish Jews.

Why was this? A complete answer would involve a long and fascinating search. Suffice it to say that, on the European side, (i) British emigrants were beginning to prefer Canada, (ii) Ireland was less unhappy than of yore, (iii) Germans who would have emigrated in an earlier period were being absorbed into the vast developments of German industry, and (iv) the advertising enterprise of railway and steamship companies brought the possibilities of emigrating to 'the land of hope and glory' before the minds of ignorant and distressed peoples in southern and eastern Europe who a few years before would never have thought of moving more than ten miles from their homes. And on the American side, the once illimitable frontier was filling up: what was wanted, or what the millionaires wanted, at the end of the century was not sturdy citizens to develop the agricultural west, but masses of cheap unskilled labour in the industrial and mining centres.

This period witnessed the last and, judged by the extent of territory covered, the greatest period of western expansion. The principal agent was henceforth the railway. The first trans-continental line, the Union Pacific, chartered in 1862 during the Civil War, was completed in 1869.* The construction of the line was undertaken from both ends, from Omaha on the Mississippi, in Nebraska, and from Sacramento in California. When the two lines joined midway the last 'spike', made of Californian gold, was driven in by alternate strokes from the managers of the two lines, and the sound of their strokes was transmitted telegraphically to San Francisco and New York and repeated to listening

* The same year as the Suez Canal. Those who like to trace the remoter cause and effect relationships of history can show that the Suez Canal was a result of the American Civil War; for the Civil War, by cutting off the American supply of cotton to Europe, brought sudden prosperity to the cotton fields of Egypt and encouraged the financing of the canal.

crowds on church bells—a primitive anticipation of broadcasting. Practically everything except timber used in the building of the western half of the line was carried to Sacramento round Cape Horn or across the isthmus of Panama. The labour on the eastern half was largely Irish and on the western half Chinese. Temporary towns or encampments were established at railheads, and as the railway developed the whole equipment would be loaded up and re-established some fifty miles further on. The railways were financed by Federal loans and partly by the grant to the companies of wide strips of land on either side of the line, for sale or lease to prospective settlers. In fact the 'railway kings' were commanders of industrial armies and owners of territories larger than those of some European sovereigns. They bribed Congress and swindled the government right and left, but they got the railways built. What is true of the Union Pacific was true of the four other transcontinental lines and of many other large-scale lines built in the course of the period. In 1865 there were 35,000 miles of railway in the Union; by 1900 the mileage had been multiplied by six and exceeded that of the whole continent of Europe.

Connecting Atlantic with Pacific was perhaps the less important function of the transcontinental railways. More important was the supplying of transport to the wheat and meat-producing areas of the Middle West. The product of these vast areas and virgin soils dealt serious blows to the farm lands of the old eastern states when hundreds of square miles were abandoned by their farmers and reverted to forest, the condition in which the white man had first found them. The ruined farm population either went west or flocked into the great east coast cities. It also dealt British agriculture a blow from which it never recovered and drove Bismarck in Germany to adopt a protective tariff against food imports. Wheat growers suffered first, for the transatlantic transport of meat was not possible till the refrigerating processes of the 'eighties.

To the earlier part of the period belongs the 'cowboy' stage of western development, a brief period of twenty years (1866-85) but immortalized in popular fiction and the films. It was discovered that beef cattle could winter on the great plains west of the Mississippi, and that the half-wild cattle of Texas, useful only for their hides, could be converted into beef cattle by crossing with Hereford bulls. So the buffaloes which had hitherto occupied the plains were killed off—five million in 1873 alone, it is said,

and Colonel Cody, nicknamed 'Buffalo Bill', claimed to have killed over 4,000 of them. When his cowboy days were over Cody toured Europe with a 'Wild West' Show and did perhaps more than anyone else to make the average European aware of American western development in its most picturesque phase.

The buffaloes made way for the cattle and for what proved the last phase of the Wild West, and the highest and most picturesque development of the ancient art of cattle-droving. Easterners and Englishmen of a sporting type flocked into the industry, established their headquarters anywhere from the Rio Grande to the Canadian border, and in the absence of law managed their affairs through the Wyoming Stock Growers Association. Texan borderers who learned their horsemanship and cow-punching from the Mexican *vaqueras* were the first and best of the buckaroos or cowboys. Every spring they rounded up the herds in designated areas, all the way from central Texas to Wyoming and Dakota. The breeding cattle were then set free for another year, while the likely three- and four-year-olds were conducted on the 'long drive', often several hundred miles long, to the nearest 'cow town' on a railway, whence cattle buyers shipped them to the stock-yards at Chicago or Kansas City.

By 1885 the growing network of railways and the wire fences of settlers had made the 'long drive' impossible. The 'cowboy' phase gave place to ranching and farming on more intensive scales.

The cowboy had displaced not only the buffalo but the Indian and led to the last group of Indian wars. While the Union Pacific Railway was being built a fixed percentage of the labourers had to carry fire-arms to defend the gangs against Indian attacks. The last Indian wars were as cruel as the first ones had been, and it seems remarkable that, when the negro slave of the South found so many ardent champions in the North, the even more unfortunate Indians of the advancing western frontier should have found so few champions in the East. The venerated Washington in one of his messages to Congress had said, 'We are more enlightened and more powerful than the Indian nations, we are therefore bound in honour to treat them with kindness and even with generosity'. But Washington's words, so often quoted when they gave sanction to popular policies, were on this subject disregarded and forgotten. Indeed, even if the Federal government had wished to secure justice for the Indian, the determination of the western settlers to drive the Indian out would have made

any Congressional laws a dead letter. So the unfortunate Indian tribes were pushed ever westwards; their lands were 'bought' in exchange for trivial or positively injurious commodities—ornaments, fire-arms or strong drink; and they sought new homes from which, in due course, they were expropriated by the same methods. Their numbers, never very large, had fallen by 1870 to 25,000.

However in 1881 Helen Hunt Jackson aroused the conscience of the nation by a book on the subject entitled *A Century of Dishonour*, and a new policy was henceforth adopted. Indians were no longer allowed to roam in a state of savagery over large territories not yet wanted by the white man and then be brutally ejected from the same territories as soon as the white men wanted them. Special small areas were set apart as Indian Reservations, within which Indians were to be helped to learn to live a civilized and settled life. It seems a dismal end for 'the noble savage' but it was the best available, and it is anyhow a notable fact that the Indian population, which had probably been declining ever since contact with the white man was established, has in the present century begun to increase again. But the real and aboriginal Americans are to-day one of the smallest of all the diverse elements in the population of the United States.

It was natural that the building of the transcontinental lines should be followed by the creation of new states. Nebraska, in which the Union Pacific started, preceded the completion of the line, and became a state in 1867; then Colorado (1876) west of Kansas, half in the plains and half in the mountains, soon to be one of the chief silver producers of the world, indeed altogether a great mining state. Then came six new states in a bunch—North and South Dakota in the wheat belt; Montana, further west along the Canadian frontier, which developed mining; Washington, filling the north-west corner, with a coalfield and a port at Seattle; Idaho and Wyoming in the Rocky mountain country, the latter producing coal and petroleum and the former a certain amount of gold. All these were admitted in 1889 and 1890. Utah followed in 1896, its admission long delayed by the discrepancy between the laws of the United States and the laws of God as understood by the Mormons: in the end it was the laws of God that gave way. There only remained for admission in the twentieth century three south-western states, Oklahoma (1907) between Kansas and Texas, originally an Indian reservation but handed over to the white man when found to be rich in petroleum,

and New Mexico and Arizona (1912), full of mountainous and desert country, the least valuable part of the spoils of the Mexican war. Thus the enrolling of the thirty-five states added to the original thirteen was spread over a hundred and twenty years and only completed two years before the outbreak of the first world war.

But one must not imagine that the West was the only part of the Union to be transformed during the last third of the century. The old North-east and what had been the 'first' North-west, the country bounded on the east by the Atlantic, on the north by the Canadian frontier, on the west by the upper Mississippi and on the south by the old Mason-Dixon Line, became a land of great cities and great capitalized industries. At the time of the Civil War the typical northerner was still the small farmer, farming his own land; by the end of the century he was the wage-earner in a big business concern. While the West was being populated by men of British, German and Scandinavian stocks, the old population of the North-east was being diluted by alien immigrants. Puritan New England, which had held up its hands in horror in 1774 at the Quebec Act, establishing the Roman Catholic Church in the newly-conquered French colony of Canada, found that it had itself become largely Catholic by the immigration of Irishmen and Italians from overseas and French Canadians from across the St. Lawrence. New York became far the largest centre of Jewish population in the world.*

Only the 'Old South' remained comparatively unchanged, though even here there were changes, for example, the development of coal and iron industries in northern Alabama.

The North had once conquered the South, and it was often said that it had economically conquered the West too, for the profits that the western farmer and stock-breeder claimed as his by right were mostly intercepted by the great transport and middlemen industries of the North-east through which the raw material of food passed on its way to the consumer—the railway companies, the stock-yards and the retail stores.

It was the North-east which produced the great millionaires.

* In 1930 there were 2,500,000 Jews in New York. Warsaw, coming next, had 353,000, Chicago 325,000, Philadelphia 275,000, London 234,000. Warsaw, being a smaller city, had a much larger percentage of Jews than any of the others. (Most of the Warsaw Jews were, of course, destroyed during the German occupation of Poland 1939-44.)

The earliest of the great American millionaires had been the German George Jacob Astor, who made his money partly by organizing for his own financial profit a large part of the fur trapping business, and partly by buying up cheaply the plots of land on to which he foresaw that New York was going to spread. When he died in 1848 most of the newspapers spoke of him as a benefactor of the human race, but one newspaper described him as a blood-sucker who had fattened on the industry of others. Vanderbilt has been mentioned already. The two most famous American millionaires at the end of the century were John D. Rockefeller of Cleveland, Ohio, and Andrew Carnegie of Pittsburg, the oil king and the steel king of their day. They were far the richest men the world had seen up to that time. Both of them were, it need hardly be said, men of very remarkable ability; both had established trusts or monopolies in their respective industries by methods which can only be justified if one accepts the principle that all is fair in love and—business. Both of them ground their rivals to powder when they got the chance, made as much for themselves and gave as little to their employees as circumstances allowed.

In fact they did *not* believe that charity began at home; yet their charities, founded during their lifetimes or by will at their deaths, have embraced the world. Rockefeller endowed Chicago University, erected an Institute of Medical Research which has financed the extermination of several tropical diseases, and founded a general Education Board which, for example, gave London University £400,000 in 1927 to purchase the site of its new buildings. Carnegie, finding that at the age of sixty-four he had £100,000,000, determined to die poor. He gave large sums to Universities in America and Scotland, where he had been born. Church organs were one of his special interests, and Carnegie Libraries are scattered all over the English-speaking world. He also established a fund for the promoting of education in the British Empire.

The age of millionaires was, as might be expected, an age of labour unrest and strikes. Many of these American strikes involved fighting and bloodshed on a very considerable scale. On occasions the forces of the Federal army were called in to reinforce the police and the 'Pinkerton men' employed by the capitalists.* In 1885 General Sherman, famous for his march through Georgia,

* Allan Pinkerton, an emigrant from Scotland, established in 1852 as a private business the National Detective Agency, commonly known as Pinkerton's. He supplied the Union armies with secret service men through the Civil War.

took a gloomy view of the prospects of class war in America. 'There will soon', he wrote, 'come an armed conflict between capital and labour. They will oppose each other not with words, arguments and ballots, but with shot and shell.'

American labour did not take as readily as European labour either to trade unionism or to socialism. This was partly because, in a country where the opportunities for independent careers were still abundant, the ablest of the wage-earner class continued to drift out of it and 'go west': partly because the forces of labour were drawn from men of so many different nationalities. The chief trade union organization was the American Federation of Labour, founded in 1886 by Samuel Gompers, a Dutch Jew working in the cigar trade. Gompers was a moderate man who aimed at the improvement of working-class wages and conditions rather than at any revolutionary reorganization. The leading socialist was Eugene Debs, the hero of a famous Chicago strike and a brave and disinterested man; he stood several times for the presidency as a socialist candidate but never secured more than one million votes against the many millions given to the two established parties.

During this period America made one important contribution to thought on the great question of the cure of poverty, namely Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* (1879). Its main idea was that poverty could be cured by a 'single-tax' on owners of land. The book created little impression in America but a very great impression in Britain, where more than any other single book (and much more than the communist theory of Karl Marx's *Capital*) it formed the ideas of the British socialist societies of the 'eighties, who combined with the trade unions to establish the Parliamentary Labour party at the end of the century.

This sketch of American life in general in the last third of the nineteenth century cannot be completed without mention of three typical and outstanding figures, a famous novelist, a famous inventor and (something rarer) the founder of a new religion.

Mark Twain, after trying his hand as a printer, a Mississippi pilot and a silver miner, wrote a series of books which made him, for an immense circle of British readers, the first great exponent of American humour. He became for us the popular interpreter of American human nature, as Dickens a generation earlier had been for Americans the interpreter of the London cockney. Hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, on both sides of the

Atlantic read *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*. When Mark Twain visited England in old age, after the turn of the century, he had become an international figure, as was illustrated by the newspaper placard to which he called attention in the first public speech of his visit:—'Mark Twain arrives. Crown jewels stolen.'*

Thomas Alva Edison was for many even more the typical American than Mark Twain, a man who carried on the tradition of the first famous American, Benjamin Franklin, as an inventor of useful 'gadgets'. He had to his credit a score of inventions connected with telegraphy, shared with Swan the credit for inventing the carbon filament electric light bulb, improved the cinematograph apparatus sufficiently to make it practicable for purposes of entertainment, and enjoys apparently the sole credit for the invention of the phonograph or gramophone.

Mrs. William Baker Eddy, the founder of the Church of Christ, Scientist, or Christian Science, began in 1867 to practise the healing of disease by 'mind cure'. She held that nothing is real except mind and that sickness is a state of delusion that can be dispelled by a true knowledge of God and Christ. She maintained that her practice was in accord with that of Christ in performing his miracles of healing, and that ordinary medical science and the use of drugs was superfluous and indeed wrong. In 1875 she published her *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*, which has become the Bible of the sect and has had an enormous sale. Mrs. Eddy's creed, and her personal character also, have been severely criticized by unbelievers, but her churches are to be found in a great many cities of America and Britain. Unlike Mormonism, the other notable religious invention of America, Christian Science makes its appeal to the educated and prosperous, and it produces admirable newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic.

PARTY POLITICS AND PRESIDENTS

More completely than most other democratic countries the United States have maintained a two-party system. The Republican and Democratic parties still divide the political world between them as they have done ever since the Civil War. At many, perhaps most, presidential elections there have been one or more 'freak candidates', socialists and others, but these have been almost unnoticed and have usually secured no more than a

* These were some crown jewels which mysteriously disappeared from Dublin Castle.

handful of votes. Their object has been not to secure election—there was no hope of that—but to give advertisement to their programmes in the hope that they might be, in part at least, adopted by one or other of the established parties on some future occasion. But what were the Republican and Democratic parties in the period covered by this chapter? What did they stand for and what was the difference between them?

One might be tempted to say that the names, Republican and Democrat, mean nothing at all. Even less than our own nineteenth-century Liberals and Conservatives are these American parties associated with any fixed principles of statesmanship. They are two organizations for securing political power and they choose their 'platforms' or programmes afresh for each election, and often, though not always, the programmes amount to the same thing expressed in different words. Each party has its progressive and conservative sections and the strife of political principles is often to be found rather in the Conventions where each party chooses its presidential candidate than in the electoral battle which follows. Caution generally prevails. The great political innovations of modern America, e.g. the prohibition of alcoholic drinks or the restriction of immigration, both adopted shortly after the first world war, have not been triumphs of one party over the other. They have been promoted by movements outside both parties and have ended by capturing both.

But we can go a little further than this. The Republican party started in the years before the Civil War as the advocate of the limitation of slavery, the return to a policy of high protective tariffs and the free grant of land to western settlers. All these ends had been secured, and the party was concerned to maintain them. The North had developed as a land of big business enterprise, and the Republican party was the party of big business interests and high tariffs. The Democrats were the party of the 'solid South', whose states produced Democratic majorities with monotonous regularity throughout the period of this chapter and later, but it had also, ever since Jefferson's day, claimed to be the champion of the 'underdog' throughout the Union and as such it has become in modern times the champion of recent and unassimilated bodies of alien immigrants. This dual function of the Democratic party involves it in a curious contradiction. In the South it is the champion of the most conservative society in the Union and of the supremacy of the white man over the negro: elsewhere it is the champion of the restless and discontented elements against their

capitalist oppressors. But the Republican party also has its troubles. The Republican farmers of the West by no means see eye to eye with the great capitalist organizations of the North-east; hence the Republican party suffers from periodical 'progressive' revolts, the most notable in the period covered by this chapter being the Populist revolt of 1892, soon to be described.

From the Civil War onwards down to 1933 the Republican party was the stronger party. Other things being equal, the Republican party managed to elect its presidential nominee and to secure majorities in both Houses of Congress. When the Democratic party won, the fact could be accounted for by special circumstances, as the ensuing narrative will show. It will also show, in due course, how and why the superiority of the Republican party came to an abrupt end in 1932.

The Federal political parties of the United States are far more closely unified with the local or state parties than the parliamentary parties of Great Britain are with the parties that contest our borough and other local elections. Republican and Democratic party organizations divide the whole political life of America, Federal and local. Each party employs an extremely elaborate 'machine', as it is called, for selecting candidates, drafting programmes and winning elections. It is impossible in this book to describe the working of these machines or to compare them with the machines of British political parties. Suffice it to say that the American party machines are far more highly organized; that they employ much larger numbers of paid professional workers; and that they are controlled much less by the statesmen who figure in public as presidents or leaders in Congress and much more by 'bosses'. These bosses very often never stand for elections themselves; their whole careers are passed within the machine. They do not aspire to be kings but to be king-makers; they do not aspire to figure in the reports of Congressional debates but, from some secret place, to pull the strings which control the actions of the puppets on the Congressional stage. Such 'hidden hands' are generally assumed to be the hands of very clever and wicked men, and so they sometimes have been. But the boss's trade is not necessarily a disreputable one. Some bosses have been virtuous, and many have been stupid.

We can now pass to a rapid review of party politics and presidents from Grant's election in 1868 to the end of the century.

It is difficult to understand how any man who had shown such greatness in the conduct of war as Grant should have proved such

a fool as president, but all who have studied his career agree that he was a fool and not a knave. He also had a feeling, perhaps, that the presidency was a kind of reward for the hard work he had done as a soldier and that he was entitled to enjoy himself in that office. He proved one of the worst of presidents. He was almost incredibly simple-minded. He accepted munificent presents from wealthy financiers, and apparently did not realize that he was being bought. His two terms of presidency (1869-77) provided a long succession of scandals. Most of the men he chose for his cabinet were either dishonest or incompetent. The two most notorious of the big business crooks with whom Grant allowed himself to associate, and who robbed the government and the country under his very nose, were Jay Gould and Jim Fisk. We do not propose to waste space on their activities.

Why was Grant elected for a second term? it may be asked. In 1872 a group of reformers, calling themselves Liberal Republicans, among them Charles Francis Adams, son of John Quincy Adams, left their party and put up an opposition candidate, whom the Democratic party agreed to support. But they made an extraordinary mistake in selecting as their candidate Horace Greeley, the impulsive and erratic editor of the *New York Tribune*, whose frequent changes of policy had embarrassed Lincoln during the Civil War. He was easily defeated.

The election of Rutherford Hayes in 1876 has already been described in the previous chapter as coinciding with the end of 'reconstruction' in the South. He was in all respects a most worthy man, nicknamed Granny Hayes 'on account of his old-fashioned honesty'—a compliment which grandmothers doubtless deserve. His wife was nicknamed Lemonade Lucy on account of her refusal to provide wine at White House dinner-parties. The movement to prohibit all alcoholic drinks had made its appearance and had run a 'freak candidate' for the presidency in the year of Hayes's election. Hayes opened a courageous attack, long overdue, on the 'spoils system' by which civil service posts were multiplied to reward persons who rendered some sort of service to the political party in power, and chose as his special target the New York Custom House which, though nominally under the Federal Treasury, was actually run by Senator Conkling of New York, one of the corrupt bosses of the Republican party organization. The commission investigating the Custom House staff found that two hundred of Conkling's party agents were receiving salaries from the Custom House while devoting them-

selves as whole-time workers to Republican party business. After a long struggle Hayes managed to get some of the more scandalous appointments cancelled.

When the 1880 election drew near the Republican managers were faced with a problem. Which would win, or lose, most votes, a 'stalwart' candidate (i.e. a supporter of corruption) or a 'half-breed' (i.e. a reformer of the Hayes school)? Characteristically, they decided to split the difference. As presidential candidate they nominated Garfield, a rather weak and not alarmingly honest man who had become a reformer; for the vice-presidency they nominated Chester Arthur, a prominent member of the Conkling gang who had lost his Custom House post as a result of the purge carried through by Hayes. Garfield and Arthur were elected, and a few weeks after his accession to office Garfield was murdered by a half-insane person who had been refused the office for which he had applied. So Arthur reigned in his stead.

Then the unexpected happened. Arthur astonished his friends and his enemies by appearing as an entirely reformed character. He proved an excellent president, intelligent and impartial, and proceeded to carry on the good work of attacking the spoils system. It really looks as if Garfield's murder, however deplorable on personal grounds, had proved a good thing politically. On his record it is doubtful if he would have proved a strong president. His murder by a seeker for spoils made him a martyr to the system, and gave the reform movement an impetus it would not otherwise have secured.*

Under Arthur the system of competitive examination for civil service appointments, which was already proving successful in England, was introduced but only applied to one-eighth of the appointments. Arthur's successors transferred more and more appointments from the 'political' to the examination list, and by 1915 only one-tenth of the Federal civil service posts could be secured by presidential nomination. During the same period most of the states reformed their own civil services on the same lines.

The 1884 election proved scandalous but amusing. The managers of the Republican party would not allow Arthur a second term. Instead they chose James G. Blaine. Blaine was

* Many men are somewhat changed by accession to high office, but Arthur's case is an extreme one, like that of Thomas Becket who, appointed archbishop in order that he might help to bring the Church under royal control, turned round and became champion of the extreme claims of the Church against the State. Arthur, who was a thorough man of the world, would have been amused to find himself compared with a famous saint of the Middle Ages.

perhaps the cleverest politician in the party and enjoyed great personal popularity, but he had been involved in financial scandals. An unfortunately compromising letter, written by him some years before, had become public property. It ended with the words 'Please burn this letter', and the Democrats concocted for election purposes a little song which ran:

Please, please, burn this letter,
James G. Blaine.
Burn, burn, burn this letter,
James G. Blaine.

As their own candidate they selected a man of really ferocious honesty, Grover Cleveland, who as mayor of Buffalo and afterwards as governor of New York State had delighted in chastising corrupt legislatures with whips and scorpions. They hoped to see him do the same with Congress. Unfortunately the Republicans discovered that many years before Cleveland had been responsible for the birth of an illegitimate child; so they too had their little song:

Ma, ma,
Where's my Pa?
Gone to the White House?
Ha, ha, ha.

Cleveland won by a very narrow margin, the first Democratic president since Buchanan. He owed his success, in part at any rate, to the fact that a number of Republican reformers, disgusted with Blaine's nomination, refused to take any part in the campaign on either side. They were nicknamed the Mugwumps, a word of uncertain origin and intended to signify a 'superior person' in the offensive sense of the term. It was only long afterwards that someone defined a mugwump as a person 'who sits on the fence with his mug facing in one direction and his wump in the other, and nobody knows which is which'.

As president Cleveland lived up to his previous reputation. One of the scandals of the day was the habit Congress had got into of voting pensions to 'war veterans' many of whom had not only not suffered wounds entitling them to legal pensions but had never been near the war. Each Congressman would have his list and by the custom called log-rolling, each would vote for the pensions claimed by all the others. It was a system of barefaced bribery, which previous presidents had tolerated. Cleveland had

each case examined on its merits and vetoed literally hundreds of pension bills. He also tried to get the tariff reduced, but without success.

In 1888 Cleveland was again nominated by the Democrats and Harrison by the Republicans. The election is memorable only for a curious slip on the part of the British ambassador, Sir Lionel Sackville-West. An American elector of British origin, in doubt which way to vote, wrote to ask Sir Lionel which of the two candidates he considered most friendly to British interests. Sir Lionel very unwisely answered the letter, recommending Cleveland. Of course the whole thing was a 'plant'. Sir Lionel's letter was immediately published, with angry articles denouncing British interference in American domestic politics, and he had to resign, and the American tradition that the British ruling classes were extremely astute and always overreached the simple-minded Americans ought to have received its death-blow, but it seems that it did not. Harrison was elected. He was a grandson of old 'Tippecanoe', the president of 1840, and he proved one of the most insignificant of all American presidents. The chief event of his presidency was the McKinley tariff, which raised protective duties higher than ever before.

The Democratic convention of 1892 provided an interesting example of the real will of the party, 'democracy' in fact prevailing over the policy of the party bosses. The latter did not want to have Cleveland again; he was much too obstinate for their ideas; but the rank and file of the Convention insisted on him and they got him. Meanwhile the Republican party were in difficulties. A period of bad trade was setting in, which was naturally associated in people's minds with the McKinley tariff.* The north-western agricultural states, in particular, were in a condition of acute distress. These states revolted against the domination of the Republican party by the big business interests and formed a new party called the Populist party with a presidential candidate of their own, named Weaver. The party programme declared that 'the fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for the few. . . . From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes of

* I have not thought it necessary to record the ups and downs, booms and slumps, of trade from which America suffered like European countries, but it is worth recording that American experience after the Civil War was exactly like that of Europe after the war of 1914-18: first a short boom, then a short slump (1867-9), then a recovery, and finally a prolonged slump (1873-8), corresponding to the great World Slump of 1929 onwards.

tramps and millionaires. . . . We are rapidly degenerating into European conditions'. The Populists carried six states and spoiled the Republican chances of victory; so Cleveland became president again, the only man to enjoy two terms of the office with a gap between them. Cleveland's second presidency, apart from an adventure in foreign policy which will be recorded in the next section, was a prolonged struggle with adverse economic conditions. It reflected no discredit on Cleveland but it was not a successful presidency. This extremely honest man had few constructive ideas and as a statesman was only second-rate.

The presidential election of 1896 was one of the few since the Civil War in which the two great parties based their programmes on diametrically opposed political principles. The Republican party stood frankly for the interests of the great capitalist organizations, believing that the welfare of American society as a whole, rich and poor alike, was bound up with the continued prosperity of these organizations. The Democratic party, absorbing the Populist party, stood for what it believed to be the interests of the poor, and held that the interests of rich and poor were fundamentally opposed to each other. In order to understand the principal measure advocated by the Democrats we must go back and describe, however briefly, a problem that had been troubling the Union ever since the end of the Civil War.

The Civil War, like many other wars, had been largely financed by the issuing of paper money, in other words the direct creation of money by the government printing press, inflation of the currency as it is called, the Federal notes being known as 'green-backs'. This meant cheap money and high prices; it suited the interests of the debtor class who owed money and could repay it in depreciated currency, and was against the interests of the creditor class. There had been a great deal of controversy about 'returning to the gold standard', and ultimately the old pre-war value of the dollar as equivalent to a certain weight of gold had been restored.

Those who had opposed this policy found an alternative to the issue of more or less unlimited green-backs in a demand for the unlimited coinage of silver. Unlike most European countries the United States had been provided (by Alexander Hamilton) with what is called a bi-metallic currency. Both silver and gold coins were to be 'real value' money, i.e. interchangeable with a fixed weight of the metal at the established market price, a given weight of gold being assumed to be worth fifteen times as much as the

same weight of silver. The system never worked, because gold and silver never stayed for long at a fixed ratio of real value. Thus one coinage, the gold dollar or the silver dollar, would be slightly more valuable than the other, and the more valuable of the two would be exchanged for metal and disappear from circulation, thus illustrating a principle formulated by Sir Thomas Gresham as early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that 'bad money drives out good'. After 1834 the silver dollar disappeared from circulation, and the bi-metallic standard was not restored after the Civil War as the supplies of gold seemed sufficient for the requirements of the currency.*

The reader may complain that this subject is too difficult for him and that he does not understand it, but it may console him to know that it also proved too difficult for the politicians of America and that few if any of them understood it. Suffice it to say that the Populist party of 1892 had reached the conclusion that the unlimited coinage of silver, then being produced in enormous quantities by the mines of Colorado, would prove the salvation of the distressed classes throughout the Union, and that this policy was taken over by the Democratic convention of 1896. The 'free silver' policy was advocated in particular by William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, a young man of handsome presence, passionate sincerity and remarkable eloquence; he was probably the greatest popular orator that America ever produced. His speech at the convention swept the audience off their feet as perhaps no convention speech had ever done before or has done since. Pleading for the little business man, the country store-keeper, the farmer, the wage-earner as against the financiers of Wall Street (the New York stock exchange) and the big business interests he said:

'We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned. We have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer; we defy them. Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the labouring interests, and the toilers everywhere we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labour this crown of thorns: you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."'

* Great Britain and other countries had both gold and silver coins, but they had not bi-metallic currencies. While the gold sovereign was worth its weight in gold, the silver shilling was not, and did not pretend to be, worth its weight in silver, and in recent years it has ceased to be silver at all. It was and is simply token money, like a bank-note.

Bryan was nominated, the youngest presidential candidate (aged thirty-six) in American history.

The leading boss in the Republican party at this time was Mark Hanna, a millionaire of Cleveland, Ohio. He did not want to be president himself but secured the nomination of his friend from the same state, William McKinley.* The Republicans strained every nerve to defeat Bryan. Enormous electioneering funds were contributed by big business and finance. Thousands of employees were given a week's notice, with the information that they would be taken back into employment if McKinley was elected, but not otherwise. Farmers with mortgaged farms were told that they would be ejected unless Bryan was defeated. Bryan carried all the South and a large part of the West, but he was defeated by a narrow margin. The best summary of the campaign (though no doubt it bears traces of emotional exaggeration) is contained in a letter written by the wife of a Republican Senator to an English friend:

'The great fight is won, a fight conducted on one side by trained and experienced and organized forces, with both hands full of money, with the full power of the Press; on the other side, a disorganized mob at first, out of which burst into sight, hearing and force—one man, but such a man! Alone, penniless, without backing, without money, with scarce a paper, without speakers, that man fought such a fight that even those in the east call him a Crusader, an inspired fanatic, a prophet! . . . We had during the last week of the campaign 18,000 speakers on the stump. He alone spoke for his party. . . . Now it is over.†

The trade depression which had begun before Cleveland's second election was now lifting. Prosperity gradually returned to all classes, and it seems certain that, if Bryan had been elected, his 'free silver' policy would have proved useless. None the less he ranks in American tradition with Jefferson and Jackson as a classic champion of 'democracy'.

McKinley was, like Bryan, a very pious man but there the resemblance ends. He was entirely commonplace and had, as one of his friends afterwards said of him, 'about as much backbone as a chocolate éclair'.

* There is a lot of superstition in American politics, and one of the most persistent superstitions is that it is 'lucky' for the Republican party to select as its presidential candidate an Ohio man. Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Harrison, McKinley, Taft and Harding were all citizens of that state.

† Mrs. Lodge to Cecil Spring-Rice, long afterwards British ambassador at Washington.

FOREIGN POLICY

Seward, who had been Lincoln's Secretary of State, continued to hold that office and to control the Union's foreign policy during Johnson's presidency. After the Civil War he had three problems to deal with, affecting respectively Russia, France, and Britain. The first problem was easy; Russia, who had explored and occupied Alaska in the eighteenth century, had never succeeded in making much use of it and now wanted to sell it. The United States was quite ready to buy it, and got it for £1,500,000 in 1867. A certain amount of gold has since been found in Alaska though the most sensational Arctic gold rush was to Klondike (1897) just across the Canadian frontier. On the whole America has not yet exploited at all fully the resources of this large Arctic territory.

The second problem was almost as simple. During the Civil War the adventurous French Emperor Napoleon III, assuming that the Confederates would win the war, defied the Monroe Doctrine and sent a French army to establish a 'Latin Empire' in Mexico under the rule of the Archduke Maximilian of Austria. His pretext was that the Mexican Republic was in a state of continual anarchy and had failed to pay its European debts. He was persuaded by Mexican exiles in Europe that the Mexican people in general would welcome his scheme, which proved to be quite a mistaken forecast. Whether it would have been a good thing for Mexico to become a Latin Empire under French protection is a question which no one can confidently answer, but the re-United States would certainly not tolerate the experiment. Seward simply ordered the French to withdraw their small forces with the threat that if they did not they would have to meet as much as was required of Grant's victorious army. He used the new Atlantic cable, at last successfully laid, for his message. Napoleon, already alarmed by the rising power of Germany, withdrew his forces. Maximilian, gallantly but unwisely, chose to remain and was subsequently shot by the Mexican nationalists. Shortly after this, Mexico entered on a period of thirty years' orderly government and economic progress under a very able though ruthless dictator, Porfirio Diaz.

The third problem was not solved in Seward's time and had to be passed on to his successor, Hamilton Fish, one of the few able men appointed to cabinet office by President Grant. During

the Civil War the British government had, through negligence rather than ill-will, allowed a British shipping firm to build and equip three commerce-destroying vessels for the Confederacy, and the United States claimed damages. It was first necessary to get the British government to admit liability, and this was impossible so long as Lord Russell remained in office; for this rather pig-headed old statesman had been responsible for the fact that the *Alabama*, the most important of these ships, had escaped from the shipyard at Birkenhead. He had been warned by the American ambassador, C. F. Adams, in plenty of time to stop the ship if he had paid attention to the warning. He retired, however, in 1866, and Seward secured from Gladstone's government in 1868 an agreement that the claims should be considered. Then the Senate, which had formed the habit of rejecting every measure of the unfortunate Johnson's cabinet, rejected the agreement, and the whole thing had to be begun again by Fish.

There were three American claims: the claim for direct damage, namely the value of the ships and cargoes actually destroyed, which amounted to about £3,000,000; the indirect claims, based on estimates of increased cost of insurance, the diversion of shipping from American to other ships, and so on, about £25,000,000; and Senator Sumner's claim. Sumner considered, very absurdly, that the activities of these three commerce destroyers had doubled the length of the war and proposed to charge the British government for half the total cost of it, about £500,000,000. This singular man was actuated not by hostility to Britain but by a desire for her friendship. He considered that friendship between the United States and Great Britain was impossible so long as Britain kept Canada, and suggested that Britain might give away Canada in satisfaction of the *Alabama* claims. The American appetite for Canada had rather revived at this time and it encouraged the Canadians to create a single federation or Dominion of all the British North American colonies (1867) and to set about building the Canadian Pacific Railway. Sumner's claim was not taken seriously, however, by American statesmen.

In 1871 the Canadian Sir John Rose and Hamilton Fish negotiated the Anglo-American treaty of Washington by which both the *Alabama* claims against Britain and certain fishery claims of Britain against America were to be submitted to an international board of arbitration at Geneva, consisting of five members—American, British, Swiss, Italian and Brazilian. It was also

agreed, in secret, that the Americans should present their indirect claim as well as their direct claim but that it should be ruled out by the arbitrators on the advice of the American member, C. F. Adams. In 1872 the arbitrators met and awarded America her direct claim, at the same time awarding Britain a smaller sum on the fishery claim. The bill was promptly paid. The result was a notable triumph for the principle of international arbitration, on which President Grant spoke memorable words. 'Nothing would afford me greater happiness than to know that, as I believe will be the case, at some future day, the nations of the earth will agree upon some form of Congress which will take cognizance of international questions of difficulty, and whose decisions will be as binding as the decisions of our Supreme Court are upon us.' We have now established institutions such as Grant envisaged, but we have not yet succeeded in making them work.

For the next twenty years and more the United States encountered no serious questions of foreign policy. It was the period when America most nearly achieved the ideal of most of her citizens, complete isolation from the affairs of the Old World. We can pass straight from the early 'seventies to the middle 'nineties.

For some years a boundary dispute had been in progress between the unimportant South American republic of Venezuela and the unimportant colony of British Guiana. The Venezuelan claims were extravagant, involving a demand for territory that had been occupied solely by British settlers for more than fifty years, and relying for their evidence on such items as the Papal Bull by which the Pope had divided the New World between Spain and Portugal in 1498. An American president had already offered to arbitrate on the dispute, but the British government had refused arbitration unless the more extravagant Venezuelan claims were first withdrawn. However, in 1895, and for reasons which are still obscure, President Cleveland and his Secretary of State, Olney, decided to intervene in this obscure dispute. Olney's experience of foreign affairs had been very brief, and he had previously shown himself more bold than wise in his handling of a notable American strike.

In December 1895 Cleveland suddenly announced that he intended to settle the dispute himself, and that 'it would be the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power the appropriation of any lands which after investigation we have determined belong of right to Venezuela'. At the same time he

published a singularly arrogant dispatch which Olney had sent to the British government some months before, declaring that 'To-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition'. This was a new development of the Monroe Doctrine.

Fortunately the British prime minister and foreign secretary at the date was Lord Salisbury, one of the wisest and most patient of men. Britain was at that time on bad terms simultaneously with France, Germany and Russia, and was determined not to quarrel with America. Soft answers turned away wrath. Salisbury accepted the principle of arbitration on the Venezuelan boundary question and America accepted the exclusion of Venezuelan claims to territories long occupied by British settlers. Finally an award, in which the American representative concurred, settled the dispute in favour of Great Britain on nearly all points. There is no doubt that the line taken by the British government on this occasion was greatly appreciated in America, and that the incident marked the beginning of better relations between the two countries. These relations were further improved by the outspoken British approval of American policy in the Spanish war, which was about to follow.

Cuba, the last important province of the once great Spanish empire in the New World, was in a state of chronic revolt against Spanish government, and the Spanish methods of dealing with the rebels were both inefficient and cruel. Americans became sympathetically interested in what Gladstone would have called 'a people rightly struggling to be free'. There were several motives urging America to intervene in force and bring the Cuban agony to an end, but the most powerful was sentimental sympathy for the Cubans, stimulated by the 'yellow press', the sensational popular newspapers which were coming to the fore in America as in Britain at this time.* Another motive was the fact that the American sugar-producing interests in Cuba were suffering from the prolonged disorders. Yet another motive was Theodore Roosevelt, the dynamic young man who held the post of Assistant Secretary of the Navy. The American government had recently brought its small navy up to date, and a war, said Roosevelt, 'would be a splendid thing for the navy'. President McKinley

* The greatest pioneers of the 'new journalism' on both sides of the Atlantic were Irishmen, W. R. Hearst in America and Alfred Harmsworth, afterwards Lord Northcliffe, founder of the *Daily Mail* (1896), in England.

was most anxious to avoid war and so, it need hardly be said, was Spain, but—we have already described President McKinley's backbone.

In October 1897 the Spanish government recalled the commander whose cruelties had been found objectionable and promised Cuba a measure of self-government, and it looked as if the matter was settled; but in February 1898 the American battleship *Maine* blew up in Havana harbour. No one to this day knows how or why it was blown up, but the American press assumed that the Spanish government was somehow responsible for the outrage, and shrieked for war; and Congress followed in its train. The Spanish government offered to do whatever the American government wanted it to do, but in vain. McKinley's backbone had given way. He handed over the decision of peace or war to Congress, and Congress decided for war.

The Spanish-American war lasted from April to July, 1898. It was a sort of comic opera war, and the gravest historians permit themselves to smile over it. The first incident was the total destruction, by Admiral Dewey's squadron, of the Spanish Pacific fleet at Manila in the Philippines. None of the American ships was touched. An unusual feature of this battle was the breakfast interval. The industrious and early-rising American sailors destroyed half the Spanish fleet before breakfast, then had breakfast, and afterwards came back and destroyed the other half. As for the Cuban operations, the American expeditionary force is said to have made an amazing muddle of its job, but it could not help winning, for the small Spanish forces in the island were demoralized before the American invasion began, and only wanted to clear out and get home. The hero of the campaign in the eyes of the press, the public, and, apparently, himself was Colonel Theodore (Teddy) Roosevelt, who had left the navy administration, raised a contingent of Rough Riders in Texas, and taken them to Cuba; they were only metaphorically Rough Riders, for they had left their horses on the mainland and fought on foot.

By the peace treaty Spain was compelled to surrender Cuba, the neighbouring island of Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands. The United States annexed Porto Rico, which had a valuable harbour. More reluctantly they annexed the Philippines, on the ground that the native Filipinos were incapable of looking after themselves, and that if America did not remain in possession Germany would almost certainly step in. Cuba remained for

three years under American government and very greatly profited from the experience. Havana, the capital, was cleaned up in every sense of the word, and its death-rate thereby halved. American scientists investigated the causes of the local yellow fever and, tracing it to a particular brand of mosquito, eliminated both the insect and the disease. In 1902 Cuba was declared independent and the American garrison was withdrawn, only to return in 1906 at the request of the Cuban president, withdrawing again in 1909. Since then, writes an American historian, 'American exhortations, enforced by an occasional battalion of marines, have prevented the pungent politics of Cuba from breaking out into revolution'.

In 1898 America had annexed the Hawaiian Islands in the Pacific and in 1899, John Hay, the American Secretary of State who as a young man more than thirty years before had been Lincoln's private secretary, was taking the lead in regulating the relations of the Great Powers with China. America was becoming a 'world power'.

America Crosses the Atlantic 1900-20

THEODORE ROOSEVELT 1900-12

McKINLEY was easily re-elected against Bryan in November 1900, but in the autumn of the following year he was murdered by a Polish Jew 'anarchist'* and the vice-president who succeeded him was Theodore Roosevelt. It was not the will of the people but a senseless crime which gave America the most exciting and colourful of all her presidents.

Some men achieve greatness by their mastery of a great historical crisis, Washington and Lincoln being obvious examples. When without the aid of any such crisis a man achieves greatness, or at any rate immense prestige in his own country and world-wide celebrity abroad, there must be something very remarkable about him, and such was Theodore Roosevelt. If one compares him with Lincoln, one realizes his limitations; Lincoln excelled by reason of his clear, deep and patient thoughtfulness as much as by his iron will. Roosevelt was no great thinker; he was a great personality, and a man of action. The nearest parallel among his predecessors was Jackson; but whereas Jackson had little education and the scene of his career was a comparatively small republic of which Europe took little notice, Roosevelt was an omnivorous reader and a world-wide traveller and he came into office just at the moment when the United States had become, both in its own eyes and in the eyes of Europe, one of the great powers of the world. In the early years of the present century President Roosevelt and the German Kaiser were the two most conspicuous figures in the world.

Perhaps the best description of him is to be found in the pages of the autobiography of Jusserand, who was the French ambassador at Washington in those years. There we see him 'exuberant, full-blooded, joyful, shrewd, *enfant terrible*, accompanying his talk with forceful gesticulations, striking the table and exclaiming

* There were a number of murders by so-called anarchists at about this time, among the victims being a King of Italy, an Austrian Empress, and, some years earlier, a French president.

Hoo! Hoo!' arguing about the Mongolians, or English medieval literature (a subject on which Jusserand was an expert), climbing trees with the agility of a squirrel,* or dragging off his reluctant friends on one of his famous 'walks'. On these walks the route was set by compass and all obstacles, rocks, rivers, marshes, and thickets, must be got over or gone through but never gone round.

Officially there is no 'aristocracy' in America, but every society develops an informal aristocracy and the Roosevelts, descended from one of the old Dutch colonists of the seventeenth century, had been leaders of New York society for generations. Indeed such families generally regarded themselves as too good for the rather dirty game of American politics. But Roosevelt had entered politics as soon as he had completed his education, and had played a leading part in the civil service reform movement. We have already encountered him at the Navy office and in Cuba. After the Cuban war he was elected governor of New York State and at once opened war on the corrupt influences in state politics. It was partly to get him out of New York that the Republican party machine put him up for the usually obscure office of vice-president. At the age of forty-two he was president, the youngest in American history.

Though the Populists had failed in 1892 as did Bryan with his 'cross of gold' in 1896 there was a growing realization in America that the relations between big business and not-so-big government were all wrong. The 'anarchy of the millionaires' had got to be brought to an end, and this resolve expressed itself in 'Progressive' movements within both the Republican and Democratic parties. The movement was strengthened by the publication at about this time of a number of popular but accurate books exposing the scandals of the big business world, such as *The History of the Standard Oil Company* by Ida Tarbell and *The Jungle*, an account of the disgraceful conditions under which meat was produced in the stockyards, by Upton Sinclair. Roosevelt eagerly put himself at the head of the Progressives against what he called 'malefactors of great wealth'. Three classes needed protection against these millionaires, the ordinary small shareholders who were fooled and ruined by complicated stock exchange transactions which doubled the wealth of those who manipulated them; the wage-earners, whose trade unions were powerless against the big trusts; and the ordinary consumer who had to pay exorbitant prices

* 'Theodore!' shouted Senator Lodge to President Roosevelt. 'If you knew how ridiculous you looked at the top of that tree you would come down at once.'

for goods which often were not what they pretended to be.

Throughout his seven and a half years of office (for he was re-elected in 1904) Roosevelt engaged in a series of battles with these concerns, securing the enactment of new laws, or bringing into action old laws previously defied with impunity. The more unpopular he became with the millionaires and with the anti-Progressive bosses of his own party (such as Mark Hanna, who had made McKinley president), the higher did his popularity mount with ordinary plain people. Some say he did not accomplish much, but he gave a grand start to a movement that has been carried on by the better men among his successors, Taft, Wilson and most of all his cousin, Franklin Roosevelt. Between them they have ended the anarchy of the millionaires just as our Tudor kings ended the anarchy of the feudal barons.

In other directions also Roosevelt set himself to extend public control over private enterprise. Americans had once imagined that the natural resources of their country were inexhaustible, but they were not, and they had long been recklessly wasted. Thousands of square miles of forest which, properly cared for, would have provided an unending supply of timber, had been simply destroyed without replanting. Water-power had been tapped in a thoroughly wasteful manner. Roosevelt secured from Congress measures which enabled him to create Federal forest reserves, and irrigation works which extended cultivation over large tracts of what had formerly been regarded as desert.

The United States had acquired an overseas empire and Americans were learning unexpected lessons from it. Hitherto empires and imperialism had been deemed immoral according to American tradition, especially the British Empire, from which the old states had liberated themselves, and the Spanish Empire, whose revival they had forbidden in the Monroe Doctrine, and whose tyrannous repression of a people entitled to freedom they had recently brought to an end in Cuba. It was rather a shock for Americans to find their own government occupied for four years—with the best intentions, of course—in suppressing rebellions of the Filipinos. When the rebellion was at last suppressed the Filipinos were given what was meant to be, and doubtless was (though they did not altogether like it), an excellent American government, under W. H. Taft, who was to succeed Roosevelt in the presidency. In the Philippines, and also in Porto Rico and Hawaii, the Americans found themselves

establishing systems of government not altogether unlike those which they had proclaimed to be tyrannies in their own 'Declaration of Independence', namely an American executive with power to override the wishes of an elected native assembly. These experiences inclined Americans to a more sympathetic attitude towards the British Empire. Never before had Anglo-American relations been so close and friendly as under Roosevelt. His Secretary of State, John Hay, had been ambassador in London, and before Roosevelt retired the British government sent over as its ambassador at Washington James Bryce, whose book on *The American Commonwealth* had done more than any other book to interpret American institutions to English people—and, it is sometimes said, to the Americans themselves. The appointment of Bryce, not a professional diplomatist at all but a cabinet minister and a famous author, was taken as a sign that Anglo-American relations were not to be henceforth like the relations of two 'foreign' countries but something more intimate.

It is tempting to look for other and deeper causes than those already mentioned, making for the establishment of real friendship between the British and American governments and peoples and the disappearance of the hostility which had been traditional all through the nineteenth century. One reason may be found in the fact that Britain had been steadily growing more democratic and consequently more like America. The new types of leading men in Britain, Joseph Chamberlain for example, a self-made Birmingham man who married an American wife, were better fitted to deal with Americans than the Russells and Palmerstons of an earlier day. On the American side it may well be that the alarming inrush of non-British immigrants from 1880 onwards made the ruling classes in America more conscious of the fact that their link with Britain was something more than the use of the same language, that they had great and valued traditions in common, and were in fact all members of one 'Anglo-Saxon' race. It was at about this time that the rather absurd term 'Anglo-Saxon' began to be used to describe what British and Americans held in common.

Roosevelt regarded the building, or rather the beginning of the building, of the Panama Canal as the greatest achievement of his presidency. It was necessary for the American navy, if a single navy was to be responsible for defence on both sides of the continent, but it would also be something more, a great American contribution to world commerce. It was first necessary to secure

from Great Britain a repeal of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 (see page 153) by which the two governments had undertaken that neither of them would maintain exclusive control of, or fortify, such a canal. This was readily conceded, and by the new treaty (the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, 1902) America undertook that on the canal which she intended to build and control the same charges should be made to American ships as to those of other countries. Next, it was necessary to buy out the claims of the French company which had tried and failed to construct a canal fifteen years before. There remained the republic of Colombia, which owned the isthmus through which the canal was to be cut. Roosevelt tried to drive a rather hard bargain with the government of Colombia, and when his projected treaty was rejected by the Colombian Senate certain Americans, not entirely without Roosevelt's knowledge and certainly not without his approval, organized a revolution in Panama which, with American naval support, became an independent republic and at once granted facilities for the canal. Two of Roosevelt's favourite slogans were 'the big stick' and 'the square deal'. On this occasion the Colombians, and many Americans too, thought there had been too much of the former and not enough of the latter. It was a mistake, for, taken in conjunction with American interference in several disorderly and bankrupt little Central American republics, it created in South America a feeling of alarm and hostility towards the new American imperialism. Ten years later President Wilson made a substantial payment to Colombia in reparation for the injury she considered she had suffered.

However, the canal project was launched, though it was not completed till 1914. Apart from Roosevelt's initiative the credit goes to Colonel Goethals who was not only the Chief Engineer but also a benevolent autocrat who reduced to order and decency what had been a notorious den of wickedness, and to Colonel Gorges who rid the country of its mosquito-borne fevers, as others had recently done in Cuba. The pioneers in this great application of science to health were the Englishmen Manson and Ross, working on the fevers of British West Africa.

During the early stages of the Panama negotiations the republic of Venezuela was in trouble with Great Britain and Germany on account of certain debts which her President Castro could not or would not pay, and the two European powers sent some ships of war to the Venezuelan coast to induce Castro to change his mind. Roosevelt had already declared that the Monroe Doctrine

did not guarantee any American state against punishment for misconduct 'provided that punishment does not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American power'. It became known to the American and British governments that Germany intended to use the occasion to acquire territory in Venezuela. Great Britain thereupon withdrew from the business, and Roosevelt privately warned the German ambassador that if Germany did not at once submit her claims to arbitration he would send the American navy (which was much superior to the German navy at that date, 1902) to the Venezuelan coast. The Kaiser at once requested Roosevelt to arbitrate the matter himself. The fact that Germany had only withdrawn after what amounted to a threat of war from America was not made known till many years later.

There was a dispute with Canada as to the boundary between Canada and the long coastal strip of southern Alaska, known from its appearance on the map as 'the panhandle'. An old treaty defined the boundary as 'thirty miles behind the windings of the coast'. The coast was deeply indented, like that of Norway, and the Canadians claimed that the boundary should be measured across the mouths of these long and narrow fjords, an arrangement which would have given them access to sea water. Roosevelt considered, rightly or wrongly, that the Canadian claim was quite unjustified. He professed himself ready to submit the dispute to a commission of three American and three British Empire experts, but he secretly informed the British government that, unless the commission decided in his favour, he would overrule its decision. So the commission met, with three American, two Canadian and one British members, and decided in favour of the American contention by four votes to two, the British commissioner voting with the Americans. Canada considered that she had been sacrificed for the preservation of Anglo-American friendship. In fact the commission was a farce, and it would have been better if the British government had frankly told the Canadians that it could not support their claim.

Two other achievements of Roosevelt's foreign policy brought America right out on to the stage of world politics.

Japan and Russia went to war for the possession of Manchuria in the spring of 1904 and in the summer of 1905 the war was still raging. Measured by the size of the armies involved and the duration of hostilities it was much the greatest war that had been seen in the world since the American Civil War. Japan had won many

victories but was nearing the end of her resources; Russia was on the verge of revolution; but neither side could bring itself to loosen its grip on the other. Roosevelt successfully offered his mediation and the peace treaty was negotiated at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire (1905). America and Japan were on friendly terms at this time, but a few years later, on the demand of the state of California, the American government put a stop to Japanese immigration into America. On paper it was a 'gentleman's agreement' between America and Japan, but the Japanese naturally resented it. Chinese immigration had been stopped much earlier, in 1882.

More significant still was Roosevelt's intervention in the rivalries of the European great powers which were going to lead up to the war of 1914-18. In 1904 Great Britain and France had made their *entente cordiale* treaty, one of the terms of which was that Britain would support French ambitions in Morocco. In 1905 the German Kaiser had visited Morocco and had made a sensational speech, protesting against the gradual absorption of that country into the French Empire and the consequent exclusion of German enterprise. The German government demanded a conference of great powers on the subject, and this conference was to meet at Algeciras, on the Spanish coast opposite Morocco, in 1906. Roosevelt arranged that America should be represented at the Conference, and the treaty in which the work of the Conference resulted was based in some important details on Roosevelt's suggestions. Far more than any previous American president Theodore Roosevelt thought of world society as all one and of the United States as an active and responsible member of that society. But the great majority of Americans no doubt regarded Roosevelt's excursions into non-American affairs merely as examples of his exuberant energy undertaking jobs with which America had no concern—in fact, as examples of Rooseveltian rather than of American foreign policy. Few of them supposed that the problems of Europe or of the Far East would ever be matters of serious concern to themselves.

Roosevelt refused to stand for re-election in 1908 as he had already had two terms of office all but six months, but his authority stood so high that he was able (like no other president since Jackson) to choose his successor with the practical certainty that the choice would be accepted, first by the Republican Convention and afterwards by the nation. He chose W. H. Taft

who, since his governorship of the Philippines, had been a member of the cabinet. As soon as Taft had succeeded to office Roosevelt went off to shoot big game in East Africa,* and afterwards to make an extensive tour of Europe. He visited the Kaiser and other crowned heads, and in England, where he had a host of personal friends, he received enthusiastic public receptions which he thoroughly enjoyed.

Meanwhile Taft was doing his best to carry on the Roosevelt tradition. In several directions, especially in the crusade against trusts and 'malefactors of great wealth', his record equalled or surpassed that of his predecessor, but he was a different sort of man; cautious by nature and a lawyer by training, he lacked personal magnetism. Quarrels broke out among the Rooseveltian disciples who formed his staff, and those who got the worst of these quarrels took their grievances to Roosevelt. One of the tasks Roosevelt had bequeathed to Taft was the reduction of the tariff, but in this Taft failed owing to the obstinacy of the Senate. It is easy to demand a reduction of the tariff 'in general', much more difficult to secure the reduction of any particular items, against the lobbying (i.e. canvassing) of the particular industries which have been built up behind the shelter of particular protective duties.

One of Taft's policies was a Reciprocity treaty with Canada, which would have established free trade in a large number of articles between Canada and the United States. This policy was disliked by the middle western states who feared the competition of Canadian wheat and lumber (timber), and was distrusted by many Canadian imperialists who regarded it as contrary to their policy of a closer connection with Great Britain. The policy was perhaps doomed in any case, but it was killed by a foolish congressman, Champ Clark, who said 'I am for it because I hope to see the day when the American flag will float over every square foot of the British North American possessions clear to the North Pole'. The Canadian prime minister who had promoted the treaty, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, was forced to dissolve the Canadian parliament and was defeated in the subsequent general election (1911).

For these and other reasons Roosevelt found himself dissatisfied

* Roosevelt was already famous as a bear stalker in the Rockies. The teddy-bear is called after him (Teddy=Theodore). He was also an expert naturalist of the gentler sort. While in England he compared notes with his friend Sir Edward Grey, then foreign secretary, on the differences between English and American bird song.

PLATE XIII

MEMBERS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

(from *Harper's Weekly*)

The Klan was started in 1865. The first Klansmen rode about at night, frightening freed slaves by pretending to be the ghosts of Confederate soldiers. The Klan worked to restore white supremacy by every means, including murder.



Below: EAST AND WEST UNITED

Driving the last spike at Promontory Point, Utah, on May 10th, 1869, to connect the Union and Central Pacific railroads into the first trans-continental line.



PLATE XIV

THEODORE
ROOSEVELT'S
'BIG STICK' POLICY
Two cartoons from
Harper's Magazine



In 1905, Roosevelt's intervention ended the Russo-Japanese War.

In 1906, at Alge-
ciras, Roosevelt
intervened in the
dispute between
Germany and
France over Mor-
occo.



with his successor, and his superabundant vitality could not bear the idea of the dignified extinction which is the normal lot of ex-presidents. He decided to stand again. As he said, 'My hat is in the ring'. Failing by a narrow margin to secure, against Taft, the nomination of the Republican Convention, he formed a new party of his own, the Progressive party. In the election which followed (1912) he secured far more votes than the unfortunate Taft, who was nominated by the electoral colleges of only three states, but the split in the Republican ranks gave victory to the Democratic candidate, Woodrow Wilson.

It is probable that, even without Roosevelt, there would have been a serious split between the Progressive and Conservative wings of the Republican party in 1912. Indeed, before Roosevelt 'threw his hat into the ring' the Progressives had more or less chosen their candidate, Senator La Follette of Wisconsin. It is not therefore true to say that Roosevelt split the party, nor that his action was responsible for the Democratic victory. The remarkable fact about the 1912 election is that it was the only occasion in American history when an 'outsider' has secured more electoral votes than a candidate of one of the two great party machines.

During Taft's presidency two amendments to the Constitution were enacted, the first since the three amendments of the Reconstruction period. One of these transferred the election of senators from the state legislatures to the electorates. The object was to make the Senate a more 'democratic' body, but it may be doubted if it has made any difference. The other amendment enabled the Federal government to raise money by an income-tax; hitherto it had had to rely entirely on indirect taxation, i.e. taxes levied on commodities or stamp duties. The Federal government needed more sources of revenue because, under the impetus given by Roosevelt, it was enlarging its conception of its duties.

This was also the beginning of the 'skyscraper' age, the first being the Flatiron Building (so-called on account of its wedge-like shape) in New York (1902). It was only twenty storeys high. The internal combustion engine was also coming to the fore. In 1895 there were only four registered 'automobiles' in the country; in 1900 there were 8,000. By 1920 there were 8,000,000, a figure which was itself more than doubled before 1930. At that date the United States owned eighty per cent of the motor vehicles of the entire world, a percentage which has, of course, declined as the rest of the world became more 'motor-minded'.

The Wright brothers were experimenting with aeroplanes. They made their first flight in a glider with a petrol engine in 1903, remaining in the air for just on one minute. In 1908 they flew forty-five miles in an hour and a quarter's continuous flight.

WILSON AND AMERICAN NEUTRALITY 1913-17

The election of Woodrow Wilson gave Americans a new experience, a university professor in the White House. Wilson had been for many years a professor of political science, had written a history of the United States and a book on *Congressional Government*, which criticized the independent and irresponsible treatment by Congress of government measures. In 1908 he had become President of Princeton University, New Jersey, where he set himself to reform that rather easy-going institution in so harsh and resolute a manner that the professors and undergraduates were for the most part very pleased when, two years later, he was elected governor of the state. New Jersey is a curious state, most of its population living in what are really suburbs of New York or of Philadelphia, both of them cities outside its borders. The local bosses wanted a 'reforming' governor who would none the less prove easy to manage, and imagined that a respectable and unworldly professor would meet both requirements; but as soon as he was governor Wilson began to show the bosses that he was their master.

The Democratic party, like the Republican, showed at this time a sharp division between its Progressive and Conservative wings. The Progressives, led by Bryan, adopted Wilson as their choice and after a stiff struggle in the convention succeeded in defeating Champ Clark, the nominee of Tammany Hall, which for over a hundred years had been the headquarters of the party machine in New York. Though Wilson's reform policy was very much the same as Roosevelt's no two men could be more unlike in character. Wilson was austere, aloof and self-centred, ignorant of human beings outside university circles and the opposite of what Americans call a 'good mixer'; but he equalled Roosevelt in his determination to get what he wanted.

Two great successes marked Wilson's first year in office. He was the first president since the Civil War to secure a substantial reduction of the tariff. His tariff bill, reducing the duties on two-thirds of the taxed imports, passed successfully through the House of Representatives. Then the Senate began to treat it as it had

treated the tariff proposals of Cleveland and Taft, proposing additional duties in all directions. But Wilson was not going to stand any nonsense; he appealed direct to the people against the 'numerous, industrious and insidious lobby' which was wrecking his proposals. The Senate was cowed, and gave way. The loss of revenue on protective duties was made good by the new income-tax. In fact Wilson's finance of 1913 was in essentials the same as that of Sir Robert Peel in 1842, introduction of income-tax and a big move in the direction of free trade.

The second achievement was the establishment of the Federal Reserve Board. The American banking system had never been satisfactory on account of the multitude of local banks, liable to fail just when their services were most urgently required. The main feature of the new system was the establishment of twelve Federal Reserve banks, to be located in various parts of the Union, under the control of a Federal Reserve Board under the chairmanship of the Secretary to the Treasury. The existing local banks were free to link themselves up with the new Federal Reserve banks, accepting control in return for security. Those that did so were very glad of it in the troubled times that were coming—and so were their customers.

All Wilson's previous studies had been directed to home affairs; indeed his inaugural address on his accession to the presidency was remarkable for the fact that it contained no reference whatever to foreign policy. It was, however, to be his fate to devote most of his time and attention to foreign affairs of greater magnitude than had confronted any of his predecessors. Even before the first world war broke out he was in trouble with Mexico.

The thirty years' efficient dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz had come to an end and his successor Madero, the leader of the Mexican Liberals, had been overthrown by a somewhat blood-stained dictator named Huerta. Rival British and American companies were vigorously competing to secure the lion's share of the Mexican oil-fields. The British government recognized Huerta as president of Mexico and he became friendly to their interests. Wilson refused to recognize Huerta, either because he was responsible for the murder of Madero, or because he did not (like Wilson) owe his presidency to a general election, or because he was pro-British, or for all these reasons. He supplied munitions to Huerta's enemies while denying them to Huerta; in fact he secured the downfall of Huerta, who fled from the country in

1914. This active intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of one of the largest Spanish-American republics was much resented in South America. If the president of the U.S.A. was going to choose the president of Mexico, he might soon be choosing presidents for Brazil, the Argentine and Chile. 'I am going to teach the Latin Americans to elect good men!' said Wilson to the British ambassador in private conversation,—truly a remarkable extension of the Monroe Doctrine.

The Panama Canal was nearing completion, and Congress carried a bill exempting coastwise American shipping, i.e. American ships travelling between an Atlantic and a Pacific port of U.S.A., from the canal tolls charged to all other ships. This was resented in Great Britain as a plain breach of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, and it gave Wilson an opportunity which he skilfully seized. If the Canal Tolls Bill was, in fact, a breach of the treaty, it was Wilson's plain duty to denounce it as such, and in due course the bill could presumably have been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court; for, by the Constitution, treaty provisions take rank with the Constitution itself as overriding ordinary law. But Wilson persuaded the British government, as part of an understanding over the canal tolls, to withdraw their recognition from the unfortunate Huerta. The British government was no doubt wise to do so. In the long run we could not expect to compete with American interests in Mexico, and those interests were certainly not worth the sacrifice of the Anglo-American friendship so patiently built up by statesmen on both sides since the Venezuela crisis of 1895.

When the first world war began in 1914 almost all Americans took the view that it was no concern of theirs. The old tradition, linked with the honoured names of Washington and Monroe, held good; Europe and America were, politically, two separate worlds. Even Roosevelt, who became a strong advocate of American entry into the war after the sinking of the *Lusitania* by a German submarine in May 1915, stood for neutrality in 1914. The few who displayed violent sympathies with one side or the other proved, it was said, that they were not 'hundred-per-cent Americans' but 'hyphenated Americans' (British-Americans or German-Americans), who had left their souls behind in the land of their fathers. When Wilson urged his countrymen to be neutral in speech and thought, and not merely in action, he held that he was simply urging them to be true Americans. The war was to

be regarded as simply a contest between two groups of aggressive and imperialistic powers.

Unfortunately the two 'worlds'—the Old World and the New—were not as separate as the theory demanded. If there is one respect more than another in which history repeats itself it is this:—that in any war the belligerent in possession of sea power (Great Britain in 1914) will seek to injure his enemy by cutting off his sea-borne trade, and will thereby involve himself in controversy with, or even conflict with, neutrals seeking to pursue their normal trade with his enemy. Wilson found himself in the same position as Jefferson and Madison during the Napoleonic wars and, as he once remarked to a friend, he feared that the fate of Madison might be in store for him and that he would drift into an Anglo-American war.

There was an immense body of law and custom regulating neutral rights of trade and belligerent rights of interference, but with each new war new conditions proved the old rules to be out of date. Belligerents were entitled to search neutral ships destined for enemy ports and to seize goods which were contraband of war. But what goods were contraband, and what not? Thus began and continued a long and often bitter correspondence between the American Secretaries of State, Bryan and afterwards Lansing, and the British Foreign Office, a correspondence which—incredible as it must seem—exceeded in bulk the whole of the Anglo-American official correspondence from the foundation of the Union down to the outbreak of the 1914 war, and it was nearly all concerned with questions of cargoes. In dealing with this correspondence the British government received invaluable support from the American ambassador in London, Walter Page, whose outlook was strongly pro-British from the start. Page was one of the best American friends our country ever had, but the fact that he was so openly pro-British reduced his influence with Wilson. When Wilson died (1924) large numbers of Page's personal letters to him, reinforcing his official despatches to the Secretary of State, were found unopened.

The Germans were, of course, equally entitled to stop neutral ships destined for the ports of Britain and her Allies and to search them for contraband of war and, if contraband was found, to take the ships into their own ports, according to the procedure accepted by international law. Unfortunately for themselves they could not do this, as the British navy had swept their ships off the surface of the seas. They could only interrupt neutral trade

with their enemies by the use of the submarine, and the submarine could only act by sinking neutral ships and drowning neutral sailors, practices so entirely outside the bounds of international law that, when the war began, the British Admiralty (including Mr. Churchill who was at the head of it), did not think the Germans would venture to use their submarines for this purpose. However, in February 1915, the German government announced that it would do so, defending its action on the ground that the British government was depriving Germany of various imports which were not legal contraband because they had not been specified in the Declaration of London. This was a revision of maritime law drawn up by a Conference in London in 1909; but the British government had very wisely refused to accept it and was therefore in no way bound by it.

Wilson replied to the German announcement by saying that he would hold the German government to 'strict accountability' for its actions at sea, but when an American ship, the *Gullflight*, and a great British liner, the *Lusitania*, with over a hundred Americans on board, were sunk, Wilson declared that America was 'too proud to fight'. The phrase provoked mockery on the European side of the Atlantic but Americans realized that it exactly expressed the idealism of the revered founder of the Democratic party, Thomas Jefferson, when faced with a similar problem during the Napoleonic war. A prolonged German-American correspondence now developed side by side with the Anglo-American correspondence with the result that, after several more sinkings of American ships, the Germans gave a pledge, in March 1916, that they would desist from using the submarine against neutral shipping. This is known as the *Sussex* pledge, from the name of the American ship sunk immediately before it. The fact was that the German submarine fleet was somewhat depleted in numbers and needed rest and reinforcement.

Thus, though America was politically neutral, American industry was, to its own profit, supporting the Allies. American exports multiplied by three during the first two and a half years of the war, and the debts of Britain and her Allies to American industrialists grew to enormous proportions.

But Wilson's attitude to the war, though neutral, was no longer negative. He held, and rightly, that the fundamental cause of the war was to be found in the faulty state of international relations. He hoped that after the war some new system

of co-operation, a League of Nations as it came to be called, might be established. More and more he came to feel that it would be the duty of America to impose such a system on an exhausted world, and thereafter to play a leading part in its maintenance. He held, not unreasonably, that America would be in a better position to impose such a system if she could intervene to end the war as a neutral. He may have recalled Roosevelt's successful intervention in the Russo-Japanese war, but if he did he probably did not think much of it, for Roosevelt and Wilson cordially detested each other. In the summer of 1916 he sent his personal friend and adviser, Colonel House, to London and Berlin to investigate the possibilities of ending the war without victory to either side by American intervention; but House could bring back only discouraging replies from both belligerents.

When the 1916 election came round in November Wilson stood for re-election on the slogan 'He kept us out of the war'. Roosevelt and his friends had rejoined the Republican party, but the Republican convention refused to adopt a programme which hinted at taking sides in the European quarrel and their candidate, Hughes, was as neutral as Wilson. The election proved the closest since 1876. When the returns of forty-seven states were in Hughes was ahead. There only remained California, and here Wilson secured a trifling majority which, under the American system, gave him the total electoral college vote of the state. By so narrow a margin did Wilson secure the grandeur and the tragedy which were henceforth to be his lot.

As soon as he was re-elected Wilson demanded from both sets of belligerents a statement of their war aims, declaring, in terms which gave great offence in England, that so far as he could make out there was little to choose between them. However, this line of approach was interrupted by the German announcement, at the end of January 1917, that they would henceforth sink at sight all ships within an extensive area round the British and French coasts. War soon became inevitable. At the end of February the British intercepted and published a German note to Mexico, urging that country to attack the United States and promising to restore to it after German victory the provinces taken from Mexico in the days of President Polk. On April 2nd Wilson laid his declaration of war before Congress in a speech in which he said, 'The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest and no

dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall make.'

Wilson entered the war in order to establish a new world organization. 'The millionaires', it is said, entered the war in order to secure victory for the Allied nations who were their debtors and who, if beaten, would never be able to pay. The average American went to war in order to end the intolerable outrage of the German submarines; he cared very little about world organization, and hoped that, as soon as the war was over, America would be able to 'recross the Atlantic' and attend to her own affairs without further interruption, as before. Thus from the first there was a cleavage on the matter of war aims between Wilson and the people he claimed to represent.

AMERICA AT WAR AND THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES 1917-20

When Congress declared war on Germany in April 1917 the United States had a good navy but very little army and but little preparation had been made for entry into the war—as was natural seeing that Wilson had secured re-election only a few months before as the man who had kept, and would continue to keep, his country out of the battlefield. American armed forces did not appear in any considerable numbers in France till the summer of 1918. To the last they relied mainly on their European 'associates'—America never recognized them as allies—for heavy guns and aeroplanes; for American aeroplane production proved a failure. But from the first America's entry was of priceless service to the European enemies of Germany in three main directions.

First, it gave hope. April 1917 was the month in which the German U-boats scored their maximum success against British, Allied and neutral shipping, nearly a million tons in all being sunk. If that rate of sinking had been continued for only a few months Great Britain would have been starved out. The immense ship-building programme launched by belligerent America secured in 1918 an output of ships surpassing the rate of German sinkings, which by that time had been much reduced. Again, April 1917 was the month in which France, after the ill-conceived and disastrous offensive called the battle of the Chemin des Dames, came nearer to the collapse that befell her in 1940 than at any other period of the 1914-18 war. The knowledge that, if she held on, millions of Americans would come to their

assistance must have helped to restore the morale of the disorganized and mutinous French armies. Finally, the Russian revolution had broken out a month before America's declaration of war and throughout the year Russia was moving towards complete capitulation. The entry of America could be offset against the failure of Russia.

Secondly, the entry of America solved an acute financial problem. Hitherto the European Allies had purchased American munitions on ordinary commercial terms from American producers, and abnormal imports unbalanced by anything like equivalent exports cannot be continued indefinitely without the exchange of money or credit between the two parties breaking down. If the Germans had not tried to stop the outflow of American supplies they might have stopped of their own accord because there was no more money or credit to pay for them. Henceforth the unlimited credit of the American government was at the disposal of the Allies. Their debts could be borne by the American government. Thus grew up those 'inter-Allied debts' which were to give so much trouble after the war was over.

Thirdly, the blockade. Hitherto America, as the champion of neutral rights, had prevented the full use of British sea power for the throttling of Germany's overseas trade. After the American declaration of war Balfour, the British foreign secretary, went over to America to discuss this question, and the Americans seem to have met him more than half-way. 'We shall become as great criminals as you are,' said Mr. Polk of the State Department. In other words, America being no longer a neutral, would take no further interest in the alleged rights of neutral traders. Germany could be completely blockaded at last.

The change-over to war conditions meant for America as for all other belligerent countries an immense extension of state control over industry and over the ordinary freedoms of everyday life. The change was the greater for Americans in that they had hitherto enjoyed a greater degree of freedom, in other words less state control and organization, than any of the peoples of Europe. But it was readily accepted, like the fact of war itself. The American people, having been almost unanimous for neutrality up to the end of 1916, had become almost as unanimous in favour of war by the spring of 1917.

On March 21st and April 9th, 1918, the Germans delivered attacks of hitherto unequalled force on the British lines, driving them back many miles with heavy loss. After the second of these

the British and French governments appealed to President Wilson to send American troops as quickly as he could without waiting for their formation in separate American armies. He responded at once to the appeal and from May onwards American soldiers began to arrive in France at the rate, as someone calculated, of one every five seconds, day and night, until the end of the war six months later. In all about 2,000,000 arrived, of whom well over 1,000,000 took part in the fighting with the loss of about 50,000 killed in battle. American troops played an important part in checking the third German offensive of the year, against the French, at Château Thierry in June. Afterwards most of the American forces were concentrated under General Pershing at the east end of the active part of the front. In the series of battles which brought about the defeat of the German armies in the latter part of the year the Americans won striking successes at St. Mihiel and in the Argonne.

The question used to be asked, did America win the war for the European Allies? Undoubtedly she played the part of the proverbial last straw which broke the camel's back, and it is probable, perhaps certain, that the war would not have been won in 1918 without American participation. Would the European Allies have lost the war without American help? It is possible that they would have been beaten out of France, and it was generally assumed then and afterwards that defeat in France would have meant total defeat. The events of 1940 have shown that that assumption was probably mistaken. Altogether the question is one which cannot be answered and is better not asked. America and the European Allies together defeated Germany and her allies. It is unprofitable and invidious to attempt a division of the honours between them.

Early in October the German government, learning from Ludendorff, who controlled the German armies, that the war was irretrievably lost, applied to President Wilson for an immediate armistice. Wilson asked the Germans whether they were prepared to accept as a basis of peace his general statements of American war aims contained in his 'fourteen points' and other pronouncements. The famous 'fourteen points', announced to the world in the speech delivered by Wilson in January 1918, are a bold but in many respects vague and ambiguous statement of post-war ideals; they will be found set out in full on p. 305. The Germans accepted them. It was now necessary to discover if the Allies accepted them, and the Allied statesmen applied to Wilson's

representative in Paris, Colonel House, for an interpretation of them. Colonel House explained the points in a manner very agreeable to British and French war aims, and with this understanding the European Allied statesmen accepted all the points except the second—a demand for 'freedom of the seas' in peace and war, which seemed to abolish the traditional right of a belligerent with sea power to blockade its enemies' ports. They also added a point of their own entitling them to demand reparations from Germany for damage done to the civilian property of the Allies, on land, at sea, and from the air. On these conditions the armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, the terms of the armistice depriving Germany of a great part of her armaments and thus making it impossible for her to renew the war.

When the terms of the treaty of Versailles were made known to Germany in the summer of 1919 the Germans declared, and after being forced to sign them continued to maintain, that the treaty was not in accordance with the 'fourteen points' and therefore involved a breach of faith. Americans maintained the same point of view, and used it to justify the refusal of their country to join the League of Nations. The fact is that Wilson's points, or at any rate some of them, were capable of a variety of interpretations when it came to a detailed settlement; they were suitable enough for a public speech but unsuited to be the terms of a bargain between hostile nations. The European Allies would have been wiser if they had refused to tie themselves to any set of formulæ conditioning the future settlement. No doubt they accepted the 'points' in the pre-armistice correspondence, less to oblige Germany, who was at their mercy, than to gratify the apparently all-powerful American president. On the whole the extent of the differences between the fourteen points and the treaty of Versailles has often been grossly exaggerated.

War conditions magnify the eminence of the presidential office. Wilson was by temperament proud, aloof, and dictatorial, and his popularity in his own country was on the wane. Other war-time governments were all-party governments, genuinely representative of all sections of opinion supporting the war, but Wilson, the leader of the Democratic party, never invited any leading Republicans to join his cabinet. When the 'mid-term' Congress elections came round in November 1918, the very month of the armistice, he appealed to the country as a party man for a party victory. It is strange, and indeed absurd, that

the very man who was going to ask the French and the Germans to forget their bitter feuds which had extended over a thousand years and henceforth be friends, should have swept aside the idea of a temporary truce between those artificial creations, the American political parties. His appeal for a party victory was resented, and Republican majorities were returned to both Houses of Congress. Under the British system this would have meant the end of Wilson's government. Under the American system his presidency had still two years to run. But the president, who was widely regarded by victors and vanquished alike in Europe as the Messiah of a new world order, and enjoyed a prestige throughout the world such as had perhaps never before fallen to the lot of any individual, was in his own country already a defeated statesman.

The Republican majority in the Senate was specially ominous because, according to the Constitution, treaties can only be made with 'the advice and consent' of that body. What the authors of the Constitution meant by 'advice' is not clear, but there was no doubt about 'consent'. No treaty can become binding on the United States until it has been accepted by a two-thirds majority of the Senate. Wilson decided, perhaps unwisely, to go to Paris himself as head of the American treaty-making delegation, thereby breaking for the first time the tradition that an American president does not leave his country during his term of office. Had he been wiser he would have invited two leading Republican senators to join the delegation, and they could hardly have refused. Instead he took with him a group of Democratic 'yes men' and a Republican diplomatist who had spent most of his career in service abroad and was not really a representative of the party at all.

It is neither necessary nor possible to describe here the making and the terms of the treaty of Versailles. Wilson was, and admitted himself to be, profoundly ignorant of the details of the European problems which the treaty had to solve. Also he was quite unskilled and inexperienced in the art of negotiating with equals. He had been a professor, a head of a university, a governor of a state, and a president. He had not, like Lloyd George and Clemenceau, years of experience behind him as a parliamentary politician and a cabinet colleague. His one fixed purpose was to secure his fourteenth 'point', the establishment of a League of Nations as an integral part of the peace treaty, and he succeeded. It was not his fault that France vetoed the admis-

sion of Germany to the League, but it certainly was largely his fault that America herself refused to join, as will be shown. In the absence of both Germany and America the League got a bad start from which it never really recovered.

When Wilson returned to America in July 1919 he found the Senate in a critical mood. The bulk of the treaty offended American idealists who considered that Germany had been too harshly treated; the section dealing with the League of Nations offended the average American who saw that it would involve the permanent entanglement of his country in the troublesome affairs of the Old World. The leader of the senatorial opposition was Lodge, the friend of Theodore Roosevelt (recently dead), a distinguished representative of the old New England aristocracy who had long regarded Wilson with implacable hatred. But Wilson had already once, in the matter of tariff in 1913, brought the Senate to heel by an appeal to the people. He would try the same tactics again and, though his health was already strained by the ordeal of Paris, he set forth on a great oratorical campaign. In September 1919, while speaking at Pueblo in Colorado, he broke down and for the remaining seventeen months of his term of office he was a complete invalid.

It is probable that if Wilson had professed willingness to accept certain alterations in the terms of the treaty he would have got it through and secured American membership of the League. But he refused all such suggestions; for him it was a case of 'the treaty, the whole treaty and nothing but the treaty'. As a result the Senate rejected the treaty of Versailles, though by a very narrow margin; forty-nine voted for it and thirty-five against it. Seven more votes would have given the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution. What would have happened then must remain uncertain, for there is no doubt that the great majority of Americans had become entirely opposed to any active American participation in the troublesome problems that continued to harass Europe. It is worth noting that the voting in the Senate was not on party lines; many Republicans voted for the treaty and many Democrats against it.

Some time afterwards America made a peace treaty of her own with Germany on terms which amounted to a simple recognition of the fact that the war was over.

Two amendments to the Constitution were an indirect result of war conditions, and should be included here, the eighteenth

amendment prohibiting alcoholic drinks and the nineteenth amendment giving votes to women.

The evils arising from the excessive use of alcoholic drinks have been more conspicuous in America than in nineteenth-century Britain just as they have been on the whole more conspicuous in Britain than in most continental countries. Consequently the movement for compulsory teetotalism, which in Britain never got very far, played an important part in the politics of many states of the American Union. Maine 'went dry', i.e. prohibited alcoholic drinks, as early as 1850 and by 1914 eight other states had followed its example, while others had introduced a 'local option' law enabling any county or town to establish prohibition for itself. The movement for prohibition on a national scale was a product of the war-time drive for efficiency and maximum production. The amendment prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks without compensation to the manufacturers or sellers became part of the Constitution in January 1919, only two state legislatures, those of the small states of Connecticut and Rhode Island, having refused to ratify it. It remained for Congress to define intoxicating drinks. Very unfortunately for the prospects of what was in any case a hazardous interference with personal liberty, the Volstead Act, as it was called from the name of its author, defined them as any drink with over one-half of one per cent alcohol, thus ruling out all light beers and such-like harmless beverages.

The experiment proved a colossal failure. The result was not national teetotalism, but smuggling (called bootlegging) on an enormous scale. Never in the palmiest days of colonial defiance of English-made laws restricting American trade had the law been so brazenly defied. In 1930 it was estimated that the production of illegal spirits amounted to 800,000,000 gallons a year, more than six gallons a head for every man, woman and child in the country. In 1933 this ill-starred amendment was repealed.

Each state decides its own franchise (right to vote) for national as well as state representative assemblies. In 1914 eleven states, all of them west of the Mississippi, had given their women the vote. It is not perhaps quite obvious why the war should have stimulated the movement for the political equality of the sexes, unless it be that women's war-work drives into the thick skulls of the male sex a realization of the usefulness and intelligence of women. In any case both Britain and America adopted the measure at the end of the 1914-18 war. The woman suffrage

amendment was added to the Constitution in 1920, only three states having failed to accept it—Virginia, Maryland and Alabama.

The reader may be reminded that for an amendment to become law it has to be passed by two-thirds majorities in both Houses of Congress, and ratified by three-quarters of the state legislatures. Both these amendments, therefore, secured the support of much more than the requisite three-quarters of the states.

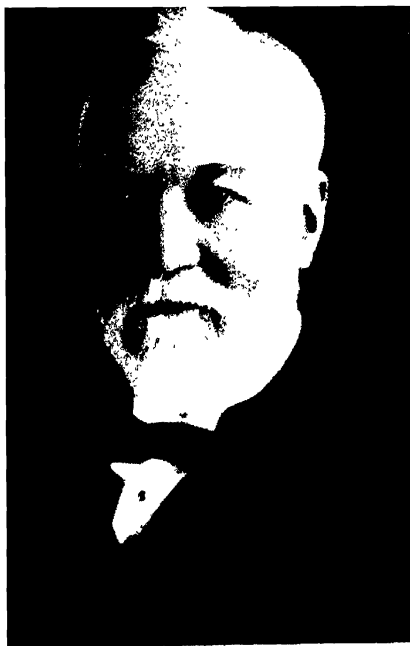
Between the World Wars 1920-41

THE REACTION 1920-32

THE twelve years now to be described contain much of which Americans of to-day are by no means proud. Its middle years, 1923-29, were a time of unparalleled prosperity, such prosperity for all classes (except farmers) as no nation had ever enjoyed before in the history of the world. But there was also much folly, vulgarity and crime. Much that happened in America could be paralleled in the histories of other countries during these years, but there is no denying that America went further along the easy roads of folly, vulgarity and crime than other countries that had been on the victorious side in the war, and the reason is to be found in the nature of American society. The United States is a country with a very mixed population, nearly a third of it consisting of recent immigrants from the poorer stocks of Europe. Its growth had been amazingly rapid and it inevitably lacked the steady traditions of countries like France and Britain.

The American reaction was not only a revolt from the strenuous efforts of the war, which for Americans had after all been brief and comparatively free from sacrifice; it was a revolt against the progressive ideals of the whole Roosevelt-Wilson epoch of the past twenty years. Once again the millionaires were in control. Most of them were respectable people compared with some of the great financial adventurers of the nineteenth century, though some of them were swindlers and gangsters on a scale never equalled elsewhere. But as a whole the nation bowed down to worship the golden calf, and worship of the golden calf is a poor religion which encourages neither wisdom nor virtue.

The tone of the period was set at once by the new president. At the Republican convention, as had sometimes happened before, the real leaders of the party were strong enough to prevent each other from being chosen and the bosses fell back on an obscure owner of local newspapers, Senator Harding of Ohio. The Democrats, determined not to have another Wilson, chose an almost equally obscure man, Governor Cox of the same state.



ANDREW CARNEGIE (1835-1919)

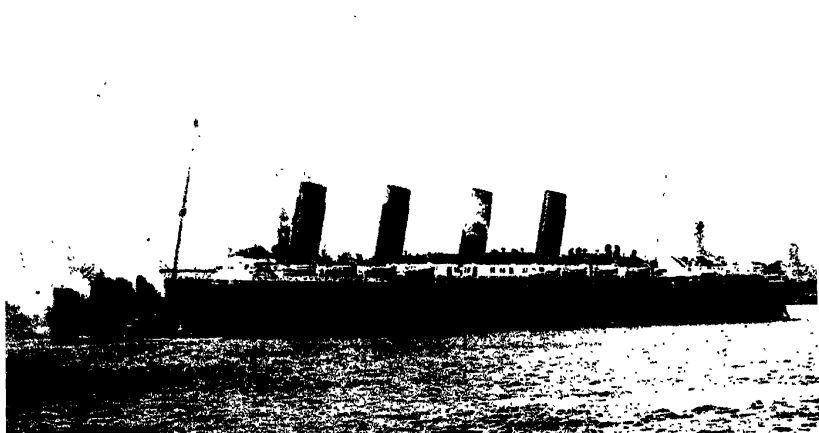
The great 'steel king', who gave away 350 million dollars after he retired.

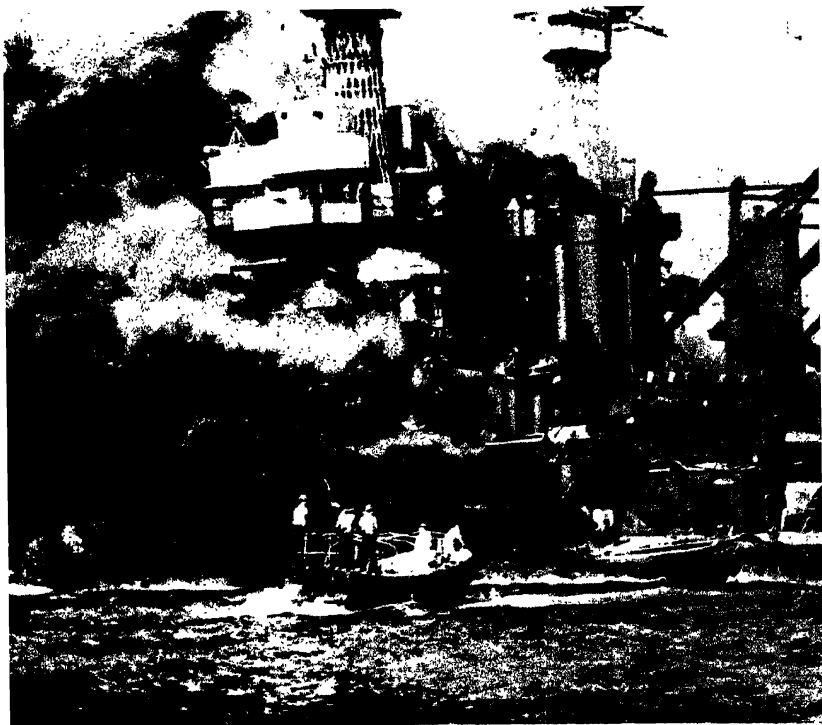


JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER (1839-1937)

He built up the Standard Oil Trust and became the richest man in the world.

The *Lusitania* leaving New York on May 1st, 1915. Six days later she was torpedoed off the Irish coast, and sank with the loss of 1,198 lives.



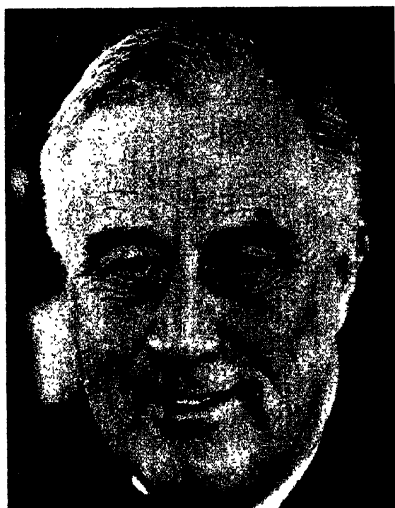


PEARL HARBOR, December 7th, 1941. Japanese planes crippled the American Pacific fleet, and brought the United States into the Second World War.

WOODROW WILSON (1856-1924)



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (1882-1945)



It was a Tweedledum and Tweedledee election.* When the time to vote came very few people bothered about the personalities of Harding and Cox or their vague vote-catching programmes. All they cared for was that Cox belonged to the same party as Wilson, and they gave him, or rather Wilson, an overwhelming defeat.

Warren Gamaliel Harding was the worst of American presidents. He was handsome; he was friendly and kind-hearted; one can believe that he was personally honest, if one can believe at the same time that he was almost incredibly stupid and lazy. But there his merits end. All his life he had been out for 'a good time', and his ideas of a good time can be summarized in the old formula—wine, women and cards. Like some other prohibitionists he was always a heavy drinker; he did not think that prohibition would apply to such as him—and it didn't. He had been pushed into politics by his friends, abler and more unscrupulous men than himself. As soon as he was president he rewarded his friends with high offices.

In the autumn of 1923 Harding went on a trip to Alaska and on his way back he died in mysterious circumstances; it was probably a case of suicide. The inner history of the Harding administration was about to be revealed, and he knew it. There followed a succession of amazing revelations. The most conspicuous case was that of A. B. Fall, Secretary for the Interior and a member of Harding's cabinet. There were certain oilfields reserved for the use of the American navy. Harding, for no good reason, transferred the control of these oil reserves from the Naval Department to the Department of the Interior, and Fall, in return for enormous bribes, made them over to certain millionaire oil magnates for their own profit. He was sent to prison for fraud, the only American cabinet minister to enjoy this experience. Another case was that of C. R. Forbes, a typical Harding 'pal', a bankrupt adventurer who had been a deserter from the army. He was put in charge of the Veterans' (i.e. ex-servicemen's) Bureau and feathered his own nest by the most unbelievable frauds. He also went to prison. Others quite as bad, such as Daugherty the Attorney-General, who had been Harding's most intimate friend, secured an acquittal they did not deserve.

When Harding was elected president the vice-presidency had fallen to a New Englander, Calvin Coolidge, governor of Massachusetts. Shortly before the convention met there had been a

* "Which is the best way out of the wood?" said Alice very politely. "Would you tell me, please?" But the two little men only looked at each other and grinned.'

police strike in Boston. Gompers, the leader of American trade unionism, had tried to open negotiations on behalf of the strikers but Coolidge had replied that there was 'no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time'. America was feeling very nervous on the subject of strikes at this time, and Coolidge's bold words—or not so bold, for the strike was already practically beaten—made him a national hero just in time for the convention.* He was a silent, sour-faced, old-fashioned puritan; he regarded Harding's 'wine, women and cards' with the utmost disfavour, but he was very fond of the mouth-organ and a good performer on that instrument. His idea of statesmanship was to leave the millionaires free to enrich America and themselves. His accession almost exactly corresponded with the beginning of the great prosperity years and the average American came to regard him as a sort of mascot ensuring the continuance of prosperity. He retained in office the respectable members of Harding's cabinet, Hughes, the Secretary of State, who had been Wilson's opponent in 1916, Mellon, the Secretary to the Treasury (a millionaire), and Hoover, the Secretary of Commerce (another millionaire). He was re-elected to the presidency in 1924.

The only notable achievement of the Harding government had been the Washington Conference of 1921. Disarmament had been one of Wilson's fourteen points. It seemed impossible to do anything at present about the reduction of armies, for Europe was still seething with threats of war, but the naval problem could be tackled. Under Hughes's leadership the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy agreed to a drastic reduction in battleships and the establishment of fixed ratios for the next ten years. Britain and America were to be equal and the battleship strength of Japan three-fifths that of either of the other two. France and Italy were to be equal and three-fifths of Japan. Nothing was done to limit the output of cruisers, destroyers and submarines. More important perhaps than the naval treaty was a treaty defining the position in the Far East. The Anglo-Japanese alliance was terminated and replaced by a Nine-Power Pact in which all states of importance interested in the Far East agreed to respect the independence and present frontiers of China and not to interfere with each other's existing possessions in the

* There was a police strike in Liverpool, at about the same time. The Lord Mayor of Liverpool displayed the firmness and tact which one would expect, but it did *not* result in his becoming prime minister. That is one of the differences between British and American methods.

Far East. It was, in fact, a kind of League of Nations for the Pacific. Both the Washington treaties were 'denounced' (i.e. abandoned) by Japan in 1934.

During the war period and the years immediately following there was a widespread 'anti-Red' scare in the United States. Under the laws intended to protect the country against interference with the war effort hundreds of so-called Radicals* were imprisoned. One of them, a socialist and pacifist named Debs, stood as a candidate for the presidency in 1920 while serving a prison sentence and secured nearly a million votes. These prosecutions—or persecutions—would have disgusted the author of the American Declaration of Independence but they were approved of by most Americans in 1920. Indeed amateur persecution societies were formed to supplement the activities of the government. The most conspicuous of these was the new Ku Klux Klan, founded in Georgia in 1915, one of the objects of its promoters having been to make a profit out of the sale of K.K.K. uniforms. It directed its animosity against Negroes, Jews, Roman Catholics and unpopular immigrants in general and established for some years a reign of terror in some of the less civilized states.

There was really not the slightest danger of a communist revolution in the Union but there were real facts, of a somewhat different nature, behind the panic and persecution of these years. Something was said on an earlier page about immigration into America (page 198). Let us summarize the facts in another way. From the establishment of the Union to 1840 the total number of immigrants was barely a million, the great bulk of them British. Between 1840 and 1880 there came ten million, predominantly German, British, Irish and Scandinavian. Between 1880 and 1914, when the outbreak of the European war practically stopped the invasion, there came twenty-two million of whom over three-quarters came from the less civilized regions of southern and eastern Europe—Italians, Slavs, Poles, Russians, Jews. The old theory had been that the American 'melting-pot'† could absorb and Americanize all that was put into it, but the post-1880 immigration proved that the melting-pot could be overworked. Every great American city now had vast slums overcrowded with people who were American in name only, and their birth-rate

* The word Radical had been invented in England a hundred years before to describe the popular agitators in favour of 'one man one vote'. In America it now meant those who sympathized with the communist experiment in Russia.

† The phrase was coined by a British Jewish novelist, Zangwill, and came into general use.

was higher than that of the older and more civilized stocks. What did this portend for the future? The obvious course was to stop the inflow, and measures were carried for this purpose very soon after the war was over. The first act, 1921, limited the European immigration each year for each nationality to three per cent of the numbers of that nationality already resident in America in 1910. Later acts shifted the last date back to 1890, thus favouring the older sources of immigration (British, German, Irish, etc.) at the expense of the later ones, and limited the total number admitted in any one year to 150,000, only one-sixth of the average immigration of the first fourteen years of the century. Employers and wage-earners were united in support of this policy. The employers thought the unrestricted immigration of the poorer stocks would promote revolutionism and the wage-earners thought that it would tend to lower wages.

The United States was, of course, fully entitled to take these measures and very wise to do so. Had she not done so, emigration from the impoverished and distracted Europe of the post-war years would have surpassed all previous records. But there is equally no doubt that the American policy increased the difficulties of Europe.

In another direction also American policy, though legally correct, pressed hardly upon Europe, namely the payment of war debts. This was a subject on which the average American and European thought on different planes and spoke in different languages. The facts were plain. During the war the more highly industrialized belligerents on the anti-German side had made loans to their allies in the form of materials and munitions, with the result that at the end of the war the continental belligerents owed Great Britain rather over £1,000,000,000 and Great Britain owed America rather less than £1,000,000,000. There were also debts owed by the continental states to America. By the treaty of Versailles Great Britain and her Allies claimed reparations for damage from Germany. America did not, but she claimed the payment of her debts from her partners in victory. The European view was that these debts had been incurred as contributions to the common cause, to which all had contributed according to their capacity. France, for example, had given more than Britain in the lives of her sons, and far more than America. It was impossible to repay France for the sacrifice of her sons. The debts should therefore be simply cancelled—that was the view expressed by British statesmanship

in the Balfour Note of 1922. It was not the view of President Coolidge, who said, 'They hired the money, didn't they?' The answer to Coolidge is that they did not 'hire' money but goods, and that repayment in goods was made practically impossible by the American tariff, now raised higher than ever. America held that as the European Allies were trying to squeeze Germany—a proceeding of which they disapproved—they were entitled to demand their debts. The Europeans held that, as America demanded her debts, they must make Germany pay at least as much as they had to pay to America. Anyhow America demanded that her debtors should negotiate with her about schemes of repayment. Great Britain responded at once and the others followed her example. The schemes adopted involved the payment of fixed sums twice annually, spread over a period of sixty-two years. Great Britain had to pay £33,000,000 a year for the first ten years and afterwards £44,000,000 a year until roughly the end of the twentieth century. If the scheme had been carried out, the whole British debt would have been repaid with three and one-third per cent interest. France and Italy were let off much more lightly.

While the European victor states were arranging their debt payments to America their clumsy efforts to extract reparations from Germany drove that country into bankruptcy. The German currency, the mark, lost all value at home and abroad. Europe now began to realize that there could be no restoration of prosperity which did not include the prosperity of Germany. Great Britain proposed that a committee should be set up to make an entirely new start with the reparations problem, finding out what in fact Germany could pay and laying down a workable scheme for the transfer of the payments to the creditor states. The American government was asked to provide a chairman, and appointed a financier who happened to be also a general, Dawes. The Dawes Committee produced the Dawes Plan, which was accepted by all parties concerned in 1924. It is unnecessary to describe the details of the plan except to say that it involved a loan of £40,000,000 from America to Germany and the establishment of a permanent Transfer Committee in Berlin under the chairmanship of another American, Parker Gilbert. Under the Dawes Plan, afterwards modified by the Young Plan (Young being also an American), Europe enjoyed five years of comparative progress and prosperity, 1924-29, the only really hopeful period in the twenty-one inter-war years. Thus America, in spite

of her absence from the League of Nations, played an important part in the attempt to set Europe on its legs again. As European prosperity seemed to be returning, the rapidly accumulating wealth of Americans began to seek investment in Europe and especially in Germany. Hundreds of millions were thus invested. So Americans lent money to Germany; Germany paid some of it in reparations to the European victors; and the European victors passed it back to America in debt payments. But that was not the end of the story, for the American investments in Germany remained a debt owed by Germans to the American investors.

But very few Americans took much interest in European affairs at this time. To judge from the American press their principal interests were the strange doings of the younger generation, the gangsters, and, above all, the 'Coolidge prosperity'. Something must now be said about each of these subjects.

An American writer has said that the real American revolution of the 1920's was not the 'Red' revolution—which never came off—but the revolution of the 'bright young things'. There came a sudden change in the habits of the young, and particularly the young women. It occurred in every country that shares what is called western civilization. Perhaps it went further in America. Certainly it seems to have aroused more excitement there than elsewhere, for it was a violent reaction against the old puritan tradition which had survived in the vast inland areas of the United States long after it had practically disappeared in its original homes. Much of what happened now seems commonplace enough. Skirts mounted from the ankle to the knee; hair was cut short and ancient practices of face-painting were revived; women took to smoking and drinking and swearing. On the one hand they modelled their conduct on that of the coarser sex; on the other hand they exploited in a way that astonished their elders the arts of what is called sex appeal. Old traditions of purity and the binding obligations of marriage were publicly criticized and rejected. Those who went furthest in these directions were a minority, but a conspicuous minority. They lit a candle which will take a lot of putting out.

Many new industries developed in the America of these years, some starting from 'scratch' and others rising from insignificance. Wireless:—There had been wireless telegraphy (dots and dashes) since the beginning of the century and it played an important part in the naval history of the 1914-18 war, but there was no

wireless telephony, or broadcasting, till after the war. One of its first uses was to broadcast the results of the Harding-Cox election, 1920. In the course of the next few years every American home acquired a radio set. The films:—There had been films of sorts for years but the great Hollywood industry did not get going till the war years. Charlie Chaplin rose to world-wide fame at the same time as President Wilson. Long before the 1920's were over every man, woman and child in America was on the average going to the pictures once a week. Refrigerators, vacuum cleaners and all kinds of electrical gadgets for household use:—all these simplified the running of the home and assisted the emancipation of women. Rayon (artificial silk) and cosmetics:—these speak for themselves. An expert has calculated that the amount of material required to clothe a well-dressed woman decreased in fifteen years from nineteen yards to seven, and an epigrammatist has said that it used to take a sheep to clothe a woman but it now took one, probably artificial, silkworm. As for cosmetics and the rise of 'beauty parlours', in 1917 only two 'beauticians' paid income-tax; in 1927 18,000, and many of these were not individuals but large firms. Whether, as a result, women were any more beautiful is less easily calculated.

But there was one industry which was not a new industry but an old industry working under new conditions, namely the manufacture, importation and sale of alcoholic drinks. This industry required organized law-breaking. It was not enough to escape the eye of the law; it was necessary to defy it by force. This is where the gangster came in. Gangster organizations and 'rackets', as they were called, developed in many other industries—organizations which forcibly compelled the traders to overcharge the public and pass on the spoils to the gangsters; but the greatest development of gangsterism was in the drink industry. Its most notorious centre was Chicago and its principal hero, or villain, a young Italian criminal of great ability called Al Capone. He rose to be the uncrowned king of Chicago, a multi-millionaire, and one of the best-known men in the world. Like all the leading gangsters he was responsible for a large number of murders, but it is perhaps consoling to reflect that most of the victims of gangster murders were rival gangsters. In the end he was sent to prison—for falsifying his income-tax return.

Crimes and follies did not seem to matter very much so long as the majority of Americans were sharing the ever-increasing prosperity of the country. Most of them were sharing in it—by

increasing wages and salaries or increasing profits of their own enterprise, or by increasing dividends from their investments. A surprisingly large section of the population were making precarious but thrilling fortunes by gambling in stocks and shares. The Wall Street (stock exchange) figures in the daily press were studied in thousands of homes as eagerly as large classes in England study the football results. There was a boom in the purchasing of goods of every kind in the richest free trade market in the world—for such is the United States—and the producers were prepared to meet all demands by means of the new technique of mass production. Henry Ford, the richest man the world had ever known, was the greatest exponent of the art of mass production, but there were hundreds of others. The market was stimulated by the hire-purchase system and by expert salesmanship. Hire-purchase enabled those who could not afford what they wanted now to secure it on the assumption, often justified, that they would be able to afford it by the time they had finished paying for it. As for salesmanship, by advertisement or personal interview, it was raised to the level of a fine art.

Most Americans, from Coolidge and his ministers, Mellon and Hoover, downwards, seem to have believed that the boom would go on *crescendo* for ever. This was the feeling at the back of the minds of the gamblers in stocks and shares. They were not discouraged by the evidence of startling collapses here and there. There was a bad collapse, for example, in the Florida gamble of 1925-26. That semi-tropical state was developing seaside resorts for the rich, and the investing public took it into their heads that plots of land on the Miami-Palm Beach coast were all gold mines, and bought on this assumption. The Florida boom was quite literally smashed by an unusually robust specimen of the local hurricane which, among other achievements, deposited a five-masted steel schooner in the High street of Miami. But what matter? There were other investment markets—cars, radio, telephones, Woolworths, etc.

By 1928 it was obvious to prudent persons such as bankers that the prosperity was beginning to ebb. There were signs of over-production, or failure of the purchasing public to absorb the supplies. Coolidge, Mellon and Hoover, however, declared that all was well—for reasons which they have never explained. The gambling intensified and stock exchange prices soared higher than ever.

A presidential election was due in the autumn of 1928.

Coolidge could have been re-elected but he said he 'did not choose to run'. It afterwards appeared that, like the heroines of some old-fashioned novels, he had refused only because he hoped to enjoy the satisfaction of a renewed and more ardent proposal; but he was taken at his word and the Republican convention nominated Herbert Hoover, who had first made his reputation by organizing American charitable relief to Belgium in the early days of the past war. The Democrats made the hazardous experiment of nominating Al Smith, the popular governor of New York State—hazardous because Smith was a Roman Catholic and an opponent of prohibition. These two facts lost him the support of some of the states of the 'Old South' which had always hitherto been Democratic, without winning him much support elsewhere. Hoover was easily elected.

When Hoover had been president six months the crash came. The greatest stock exchange 'Bubble' of history, compared with which the old English South Sea bubble of 1720 appears scarcely larger than a village sweepstake, burst. The gamblers suddenly lost confidence; everybody rushed to sell; the absurdly inflated prices dropped to zero. Thousands were ruined. Banks went bankrupt in all directions. Unemployment spread till, according to one estimate (perhaps exaggerated), fifteen millions were out of work; for there were no unemployment statistics in America, because there was no unemployment insurance. Throughout his four years' presidency the unfortunate Hoover wrestled with the problems of the Great Slump most unsuccessfully.

At the height of the boom Americans had begun to recall their investments from continental Europe in order to employ the money more profitably at home. When the crash came they recalled more money still. Germany was in no position to find the money she owed and was once again faced with ruin. The Great Slump became a world-wide disaster. It put an end to reparation payments and to the payment of European-American debts. It caused the Bank of England to totter and swept out of existence an over-optimistic British Labour government. It paved the way for the rise of Hitler. The post-war dream was over. It had not really been a very nice dream.

THE NEW DEAL AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR 1932-41

The Republican convention nominated Hoover as their candidate for the 1932 election but he had not the faintest chance of

being re-elected. He had promised before the crash a continuance, and after the crash a swift return, of prosperity and had proved himself a bad prophet. Also he had been far too closely identified with the big business interests and with the Harding-Coolidge policy of allowing full freedom of action to the big business corporations to take effective steps to remedy the situation. 1932 would be, like 1912, a Democrats' year, and the Democratic party selected as its candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt. Roosevelt carried majorities in every state except six—all of them in the north-eastern corner of the Union. The remarkable fact is that, in spite of his record, Hoover should have obtained two-fifths of the total votes—fifteen millions. It only shows how many people will remain true to their party colours whatever the circumstances.

Today (1952), after an interval of twenty years, we can see that the 1932 election marked a permanent shift in the balance of parties. Hitherto, ever since the Civil War, the Republican party had been the stronger and the rare Democratic victories (1884, 1892, 1912, 1916) due to exceptional circumstances or won by very narrow margins. Henceforth the Democratic party was definitely the stronger. At first this seemed due to the political wizardry of Franklin Roosevelt but when, after his death, the comparatively commonplace Truman won in 1948, against all the professional forecasts, some other explanation had to be found, and it was not far to seek. The Democratic party had always been the party of the underdog. It was not exactly a Labour party but it enjoyed the advantages of a Labour party, and the class consciousness, and readiness to vote, of the sons and daughters of the non-British masses of the great immigration of 1890-1914 was continually on the increase. Hence the remark often made in Franklin Roosevelt's day: 'No one supports Roosevelt—except, of course, the electorate.'

Franklin Roosevelt was scarcely a relation of his famous namesake—a fifth cousin, which means that their nearest common ancestor must have been a contemporary of George Washington. But the two Roosevelts belonged to the same New York aristocracy and had many points in common. Both were men of great personal charm and exceptional vitality and self-confidence. Both were thorough progressives, with a belief that the powers of the Federal government must be extended to protect the interests of the common man against the powers of capitalism. Theodore had spoken of 'malefactors of great wealth'; Franklin declared

that he disliked 'big business' just because it was too big. Franklin Roosevelt had been a junior member of Wilson's government, and had been the Democratic candidate for the vice-presidency in the Harding-Cox election. Shortly after this he had had a prolonged attack of poliomyelitis. He recovered, though the muscles of his legs were permanently affected, and in 1929 became governor of New York State. It is said that his experience of prolonged pain and his unflagging resolution to recover from his prostration markedly strengthened his always strong character.

The four months' 'interregnum' between Hoover's defeat and Roosevelt's assumption of office were the most disastrous since the Buchanan-Lincoln interregnum of 1860-61. The slump then touched rock bottom. Stocks were worth on an average only one-sixth of what they had been worth at the height of the boom and only one-third of what they had been worth in 1926 when the prosperity began to develop its worst gambling features. Incomes had on the average been halved and the production of goods more than halved. Factory wages had dropped sixty per cent and there were about 15,000,000 unemployed, eighty per cent more than the worst unemployment figure of Great Britain, after allowance is made for the difference of population; five times the British figure if no such allowance is made. Finally, the banks collapsed, and on the last day of Hoover's ill-starred presidency every bank in the Union closed its doors.

Roosevelt's inaugural address on taking office at once struck the right note. The slump, he said, was not a God-sent pestilence; it was the result of man's folly and could be cured by his courage and common sense. He at once began to introduce what proved a long succession of drastic measures. Roosevelt called his policy the New Deal, but in a sense the name is misleading. It was not a single policy, based on a cast-iron theory, like Stalin's Five-Year Plan, which had been for some years operating in Russia. It should rather be viewed as a miscellaneous collection of practical experiments. To describe all these experiments would be a long task, out of proportion with the scale of this book. It will be sufficient to mention a few examples. Roosevelt was aiming all the time at something more than a mere recovery of industrial prosperity, a restoration of riches to the rich; he aimed at a grand reorganization of American social and economic life towards which his own presidency could contribute no more than a beginning.

His first measure was to extend financial support to the schemes of relief undertaken by the governments of the poorer states. This was soon supplemented by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, under Harry Hopkins. The object in both cases was not to pay doles but, wherever possible, to create work. Four million 'jobs', some more useful than others, were quickly created. At the same time a Civilian Conservation Corps, a kind of industrial volunteer army, was established for young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. 300,000 enlisted. They were employed to fight forest fires, dust storms and floods, to build dams, open up new roads, lay telephones in thinly populated districts, and so on.

Hitherto *laissez-faire*, or leaving industry to go as it pleased, had prevailed in America. Roosevelt secured the enactment of a series of measures similar to those enacted in Britain and Germany twenty, forty or sixty years earlier. Child labour was banished from many industries, hours of work were cut down, compulsory insurance against sickness and accidents and contributions towards old age pensions were introduced. Compulsory minimum wages were established. The great depressed industry of agriculture, which in one form or another still supported a third of the population of the country, was the subject of a series of measures which resulted in the doubling of the total agricultural income.

American private enterprise had long been making havoc of the splendid forests of the country, and the result of the uncontrolled destruction of forests without provision for re-forestation was soil erosion which converted large areas into desert and produced devastating floods. Roosevelt revived the policy of his namesake, introducing bold measures for the preservation and restoration of forest areas. One of the largest of Roosevelt's local schemes for the enrichment of poverty-stricken areas was that entrusted to the Tennessee Valley Authority. The Tennessee river was to be brought under control by a system of dams for the prevention of floods, the irrigation of the land, and the provision of electric power.

When Roosevelt entered office he had immense party majorities in both Houses of Congress, but irrespective of party his first measures enjoyed general and enthusiastic support. In 1936 he was re-elected with even more decisive majorities than he had enjoyed in 1932. But opposition, by no means confined to the Republicans, had begun to appear. A situation not unlike that

of the Bryan-McKinley election of 1896 was developing. Roosevelt, with far better opportunities and fuller understanding than Bryan, was determined that America should not be 'crucified on a cross of gold'. He was reorganizing America on a pattern which big business distrusted. Moreover he was launching out, with tax-payers' money and public loans, on great industrial schemes for which big business considered that it should enjoy the responsibility—and the profits. He was piling up a national debt such as no country had ever accumulated except in war-time, for he made no pretence of balancing his budgets. He gave big responsibilities to a number of self-confident young men, nicknamed the 'brains trust', whose activities sometimes gave reasonable offence. Industrial recovery was progressing, no doubt, but there were many set-backs and even a renewal of 'slump' in 1937. When was all this disturbing governmental activity going to end?

Roosevelt had extended in every direction the powers of the Federal government, and here he was at the mercy of the Supreme Court as interpreter of the Constitution. In 1935 and 1936 the Supreme Court rejected as unconstitutional several of Roosevelt's measures, which had of course passed through Congress, by a majority of five judges to four. Roosevelt's supporters remarked that the four were the most eminent judges and the five the most elderly—the latter statement was a fact but the former could be only an opinion. The president proposed to get round the Supreme Court by appointing six more judges. The proposal was legally correct, for the Constitution fixes no limit for the numbers of the Supreme Court, but it would clearly be a dangerous precedent, recalling the methods by which Stuart kings secured support from the judicial bench. Congress, in spite of the Democratic majority, refused its assent to the enlargement of the Supreme Court and rejected some of Roosevelt's other measures.

All this goes to prove, if proof were needed, that the author of the New Deal was not a Dictator on the Hitler-Mussolini-Stalin model. The story of the New Deal was, in a sense, never completed; before it was completed it merged into the story of American policy in face of a renewed menace from Germany. But there can be little doubt that, taken as a whole and discounting all its failures—for some of its experiments proved costly failures—it will rank among the great efforts of constructive statesmanship.

To return for a moment to the European Debt payments.

When the slump threatened to engulf Germany, President Hoover had proposed, in 1931, what became known as the Hoover Moratorium. America would postpone all claims to debt payments for a year if the debtors would similarly postpone their claims to German reparations. This was agreed. The reparation claims were never renewed, but at the end of the agreed year America demanded a resumption of debt payments. Some of the debtors, such as France, refused outright. Great Britain, with far the largest liabilities, paid at the end of 1932 her due instalment of £33,000,000 in gold. When the next instalment fell due she offered a 'token payment' of £2,000,000 in silver. Another 'token payment' followed and then no more. Only Finland and South Africa continued to make the small payments due from them. America's rejoinder in 1934 was the Debt Defaulters Act, depriving the defaulting states of the right to place any further loans on the American market.

Historians, strange as it may seem, are no better at foretelling the future than ordinary mortals, and an excellent American history, published as recently as 1938, contains the following comment on the Debt Defaulters Act. 'One may argue, and with good reason, that this single act of Congress is accomplishing more to preserve the peace of Europe than the League of Nations. The leading European powers cannot carry on a major war over any considerable period of time without American supplies, and the purchase of such supplies would have to be financed by loans placed in the United States.'*

In 1933, the year in which Roosevelt took office as president, Hitler established his dictatorship in Germany, renounced the League of Nations and began German rearmament. In 1935 the powerlessness of the League was demonstrated by Mussolini's successful invasion of Abyssinia. In 1936 Hitler's armies occupied the Rhineland, which had been demilitarized by the treaty of Versailles. In 1938 Hitler annexed Austria and was allowed by the Munich agreement to occupy the districts of Czechoslovakia inhabited by the Sudeten Germans. In the spring of 1939 Hitler occupied the remainder of Czechoslovakia and Mussolini occupied Albania. At the beginning of September Hitler attacked Poland, and Great Britain and France declared war on Germany. In the spring of 1940 Hitler's armies overran Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium and drove a corrupt French government into

* Woodward, W. E., *A New American History*, p. 632.

signing an ignominious armistice. In the autumn of 1940 the projected invasion of Britain was defeated by the Royal Air Force.

It is natural to compare the two periods of American neutrality, 1914-17 and 1939-41. On both occasions the great majority of Americans were determined, if it was in any way possible, to keep out of a European war. In both cases they were drawn in, on the first occasion after two years and eight months, in the second after two years and three months. On both occasions, it may be added, a presidential election occurred during the period of neutrality and resulted in the re-election of the occupant of the office, in Wilson's case by a narrow margin, in Roosevelt's case by an overwhelming majority, in spite of the fact that Roosevelt was defying precedent by standing for a third term. In neither case, however, was the election an appeal to the American people to express their opinions on the great question of the day, for Wilson and Hughes were equally pledged to a continuance of neutrality, and Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie, an attractive candidate of German descent but robustly anti-Nazi opinions, were equally pledged to give Great Britain 'all aid short of war'.

The last sentence indicates one of the two big differences between the two neutrality periods. Wilson had urged Americans to be neutral not only in act but also in speech and thought, and though his private and personal sympathies were with the Allies he always observed in his public utterances a cold and meticulous neutrality. Roosevelt, on the other hand, and his cabinet colleagues, particularly his wise and steadfast Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, made no secret, both before the war and during the neutrality period, of their detestation of the aggressor states and their whole-hearted sympathy with and support 'short of war' of the democracies.

There was also another big difference. The first world war had come as a surprise to Americans and they did not think out what it might involve for them. They simply insisted on their traditional right as neutrals to trade with both sets of belligerents except in so far as either side was able to stop such goods as were listed as contraband of war from reaching the other. This involved them in long and often bitter disputes with Britain as to the definition of contraband and with Germany as to the use of her U-boats. The latter correspondence led up to war, for which Wilson's government had made hardly any preparation. The second great war was foreseen by America some years before it

arrived and positive measures were taken to meet the dangers it would involve. These measures were of two kinds. The first, on which Americans were practically unanimous, was rearmament. We need not go into details on this subject. Suffice it to say that rearmament programmes on an ever-increasing scale were begun very soon after Roosevelt assumed office. The second was a series of measures designed to keep America out of the war. On these measures there was much difference of opinion. In general terms we may say that majorities in both Houses of Congress, while desiring a victory of the European democracies, put American pacifism first and the destruction of Hitlerism a very bad second, whereas Roosevelt and his cabinet colleagues reversed the order. They realized that, if the alternative was a Nazi conquest of Europe, American pacifism would have to be abandoned and that, when it came to the point, the vast majority of Americans would wish it so.

Insistence on neutral rights of trade with the belligerents had involved America in war in 1917. Therefore, said Congress, those rights must be abandoned. This had been the policy of Jefferson—a very unsuccessful policy as it turned out—in his Embargo and Non-intercourse Acts during the Napoleonic war. In 1935 Congress carried a Neutrality Act prohibiting the export of 'arms, ammunition or any implements of war' to any belligerent nation, or to any nation which might tranship them to a belligerent. Roosevelt would have preferred a bill which gave the president wide discretionary authority to decide whether he would allow these exports or not; in fact, to draw distinctions between aggressors and their victims. But a bill on these lines had been defeated and Roosevelt gave his assent, which he afterwards regretted, to the act passed by Congress. Under this act America refused to export munitions to Italy during her war with Abyssinia, but she did not refuse to export materials such as oil, which were of more importance to Italy than the actual munitions would have been.

In 1937 Congress passed and Roosevelt reluctantly accepted a second and more stringent Neutrality Act, which maintained all the features of the previous act and added a 'cash and carry' rule applicable to all American exports. Under this law belligerents could purchase American goods only if they paid for them in cash and carried them away in their own ships. American ships were forbidden to enter belligerent ports. The result of these Neutrality Acts was to penalize, in any war between the dictators and the

democracies, the side that the vast majority of Americans wanted to win. For the democracies, though they might prove the weaker on land, were unquestionably the stronger at sea, and one of the principal uses of sea power is that it gives its possessor the power of carrying on overseas trade. The American law placed the most formidable obstacles in the way of that trade. In the spring of 1939 Roosevelt pressed for the amendment of the law but the Senate, under the leadership of Senator Borah of Idaho, refused. Borah said that he had 'his own sources of information', which led him to believe that war was a long way off.

Such was the position when the war began. But almost at once American sympathy with the democracies, and a realization that they were, in a very real sense, defending America as well as themselves, began to break down the policy of the Neutrality Act. In the autumn of 1939 the embargo on 'arms, ammunition and implements of war' was repealed and the 'cash and carry' provision applied to all munitions. American shipping was still excluded from the war zone but at home Americans set themselves to make their country 'the arsenal of the democracies'.

Thus matters stood in 1940. The catastrophic defeat of France seems for a time to have strengthened the 'isolationist' movement, led by several conspicuous senators and by Lindbergh, an American of Swedish origin who had become a national hero in 1927 by making the first solo aeroplane flight across the Atlantic. But Roosevelt went ahead. He avoided one of the least excusable mistakes of Wilson by taking two leading Republicans, Stimson and Knox, into his cabinet as Secretaries for War and for the Navy. He made an arrangement with the British government by which America parted with fifty 'over-age' destroyers in exchange for a right to establish American naval bases in various British West Indian islands. The destroyers had to be 'over-age' to satisfy the rules of neutrality, but as Roosevelt jokingly remarked, 'Destroyers age very rapidly'.

But the 'cash and carry' system could not go on for ever, for the cash was running short. Early in 1941 Roosevelt introduced and Congress accepted the Lend-Lease Bill, which empowered the president to 'sell, transfer, lease, lend, exchange or otherwise dispose of' any articles or services (such as repairing British ships in American shipyards) which Britain required. In other words America would 'furnish the tools' to the men that were using them on her behalf as well as on their own, without adding up their costs in an account book and accumulating war debts such

as had troubled the relations of America and Europe after the previous war. In the months that followed the American government took steps to ensure that the 'tools' would actually reach their users. The American navy co-operated with the British in patrolling the western half of the Atlantic route, and the provision of the Neutrality Act forbidding American merchantmen to visit ports in the war area was repealed. This enabled American munitions to be carried in American ships direct to the Indian Ocean, thus easing the situation in North Africa, the scene of the main British campaign at that time.

In August 1941 the American president and the British prime minister met 'in the Atlantic' and issued a 'charter' defining the war and peace aims of the two countries. The terms of the Charter are given in Appendix II.

The final impulse bringing America into the war as a belligerent came not from Europe but from Japan.

Ever since the days of John Hay, Secretary of State to McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, America had been interested in the protection of China from exploitation by external aggressors, and for a long time past Japan had been the principal aggressor. Hawaii had become a great American naval base, but though it was 2,000 miles from the American coast it was still further from the American Philippines, which were well within the range of Japanese ambitions. American isolationists had become anxious to get rid of the Philippines, on the ground that they were a possible cause of war with Japan, and in 1934 Congress had enacted a declaration that the Philippines should be given their independence in ten years. In 1931 Japan had invaded the province of Manchuria (Manchukuo) which, though nominally part of China, was actually ruled at that time by a Chinese 'war-lord' who was independent of the national Chinese government. The League of Nations and the United States both made ineffective protests against this Japanese campaign. Japan left the League, and linked her fortunes with those of Germany.

In 1937 Japan entered on far larger operations, aiming at the complete subjugation of China. She occupied all the eastern part of the country, the Chinese government of Chiang Kai-shek withdrawing far into the interior to Chungking and continuing the struggle with the support of American supplies; for Roosevelt did not apply the terms of the Neutrality Act to China, since Japan had never declared war on her. In 1939 and 1940

America had taken one step after another to curtail her supplies of war material of all kinds to Japan, and in the autumn of 1941 a Japanese mission to Washington was engaged in prolonged and apparently resultless negotiations with the American government on these matters. Suddenly and without warning on December 7th, 1941, Japanese aeroplanes from aircraft carriers made a treacherous attack on the American naval base at Pearl Harbour. America at once declared war on Japan, Germany and Italy. By Christmas Churchill was in Washington discussing plans for complete Anglo-American co-operation.

These words are written on the last day of 1941. We may assume that America and Great Britain will see the war through together to a victorious conclusion. The testing time will come after that. The 1919 League of Nations failed, and its very name is in disrepute; but whatever name may be used it is obvious that some world-wide system of co-operation, such as has never yet been achieved, will be needed if the peace of the world is to be secured. It will be for Americans to decide what part they will play in that organization.

POSTSCRIPT ADDED IN 1954

And there we end, not at the present day but within sight of it. These last chapters have contained an account of America's first European, or 'World', war and her first post-war. The contrast with her second achievement in both fields is overwhelming. In the first war America was a belligerent for nineteen months and she entered the war so unprepared that her contribution to the actual fighting was on a very moderate scale though in other departments behind the lines it was very much greater. In the second war America was a belligerent for more than three and a half years and she entered it fully armed. It is no disparagement to our own much smaller resources to say that America played the preponderant part in the destruction of Nazi Germany so far as the attack from the western side was concerned, and in the conquest of Japan her part was even more preponderant.

After the first war America recrossed the Atlantic—in dudgeon, one might say—devoted herself to her own affairs and left us to make a mess of ours. There was a brief moment in 1945, the abrupt and disconcerting termination of the Lend-Lease system immediately after the cessation of hostilities, when it looked as if she might be going to do the same again. But more generous counsels, which were also from her own standpoint wiser counsels, prevailed. Today Western Europe is as dependent on the wealth and power of the United States for its survival as it was in the war years. We may wish it was not so, but so it is.

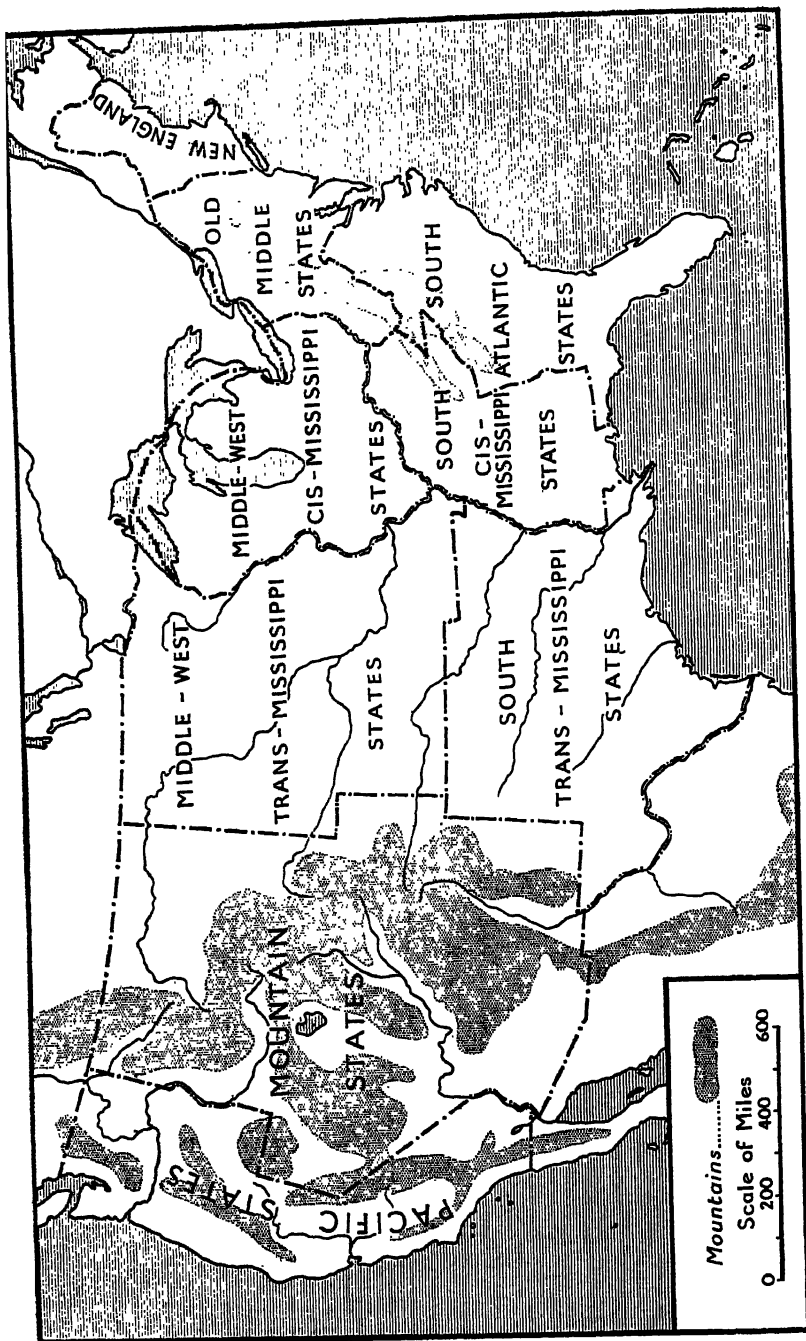
APPENDIX I—THE REGIONS OF U.S.A.

It is impossible in a short history to give any sufficient account of the varieties of character and activity developed in the different regions of the vast area of the United States. The purpose of this additional chapter is to do something to fill the gap. The plan to be followed will be to divide the whole area into its natural regions, as fixed by history and geography, to list the states in each region with their areas and populations, and to add some description of the characteristics of each region, and brief notes on the various states comprising it. To-day the individuality of the states is less important than it was a hundred years ago or more, when a man thought of himself first and foremost as a Virginian or Pennsylvanian and only secondarily as an American. The states created after the establishment of the Union, with their shifting populations, never had as much individuality or enlisted as much state loyalty as the old states, and such new states gradually became a majority. The Civil War settled once for all the question of the 'sovereignty' of the separate states. Railways, and modern big business, both conceived on continental scales, overrode state frontiers. More especially since the Great Slump and the New Deal, the enterprises of the Federal government have revealed the dependence of the poorer states on the support of the Union. But the regions, or groups of states, remain, and nothing can obliterate their significance, for it is based on permanent factors of soil and climate.

First of all, what are these regions? Different writers have classified them in different ways and given them different names. We propose to make a division into four *sections*, North-east, South, Middle West and West, and to divide each section into two and in one case three *regions*, as follows:—

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| North-east | (i) New England states,
(ii) The old 'Middle States'. |
| South | (i) Atlantic states,
(ii) Cis-Mississippi states,*
(iii) Trans-Mississippi states. |
| Middle West | (i) Cis-Mississippi states,
(ii) Trans-Mississippi states. |
| West | (i) Mountain states,
(ii) Pacific states. |

* 'Cis' is the opposite of 'trans', i.e. it means 'this side of'. It is not in common use but it is convenient and short.



First, a word about the figures of area and population in the tables which follow. To get a clear idea of the area figures it is well to remember that the area of France is 203,803 square miles, that of Great Britain 88,110, that of England (without Wales) 50,851, that of Yorkshire 6,066 square miles. It appears, therefore, that one state, Texas, is 30 per cent larger than France; there were historical reasons for this (see page 143) and no other state approaches it in size. However, nine states, all of them in the western half of the Union, are larger than Great Britain and twenty-seven of the forty-eight states are larger than England, only one of these, Georgia, being among the original thirteen. Three states, on the other hand, are smaller than Yorkshire, and five more not much larger, all these except Vermont, the first of the new states, being among the original thirteen. One may say, for what it is worth, that the average size of a state of the American Union is almost exactly the same as that of England and Wales. When we pass to population figures, however, we realize that the United States is still, compared with Western Europe, a thinly populated country, though very densely populated if compared with any other country of the New World. Only New York State, with an area just short of that of England, has a population of more than twelve million, whereas England has over forty million. The population of France and Germany (1939 frontiers) together is more than three-quarters of that of the United States whereas their combined area is less than one-fifth.

The United States census classifies separately Whites, Negroes, Mexicans, American Indians and Asiatics and it seems at first sight an extraordinary fact that every one of these groups is represented in every state. But it is less extraordinary than it seems, for in many cases the numbers are very small, and a similar classification of the population of English counties would no doubt reveal small numbers of persons, possibly temporary visitors present on the day of the census, from all parts of the world. For example the 1930 census* showed *one* Mexican in New Hampshire; it does not therefore become necessary to discuss 'the influence of Mexican immigration on the manners and customs of New Hampshire'. Where these non-White elements are important they will be mentioned.

* In the statistics which follow the State populations are the 1950 figures, but the Negro populations are those of 1940 as the 1950 ones are not yet published.

The North-east. (i) The New England States

		Area sq. m.	Population 1950
1820	Maine	29,895	913,774
—	New Hampshire	9,005	933,242
1791	Vermont	9,135	377,747
—	Massachusetts	8,040	4,690,514
—	Rhode Island	1,053	791,896
—	Connecticut	4,845	2,007,280
		<hr/> 61,973	<hr/> 9,714,453

These six little states, four of them original members of the Union, the other two already partially occupied at that time, are together only as large as one average state. They comprise only one-fiftieth of the area of the Union, but contain one-fifteenth of its population.

This small area is rich in history and its one great city, Boston, with a population of 800,000, took the lead in the quarrel with Great Britain which led to the War of Independence. It was the centre of the American shipping industry and afterwards of the textile industry. Its leadership in both these activities has long since inevitably passed elsewhere, but it still, perhaps, holds its lead in education, the old universities of Harvard and Yale occupying positions almost, though not quite, comparable with Oxford and Cambridge in the British Empire. But New England has influenced American history as much through its emigrants as through those that have remained within its borders. The agriculture of its own stony soil has decayed, but New England Puritanism and grit have played a conspicuous part in fashioning the social and economic life of many of the inland states. Only one president of the last eighty years, Coolidge, has been a New Englander but the majority of them, including Lincoln, trace back to New England ancestry, in fact to the Puritan migration of the early Stuart period.

While New England has lost a large part of her English Puritan stock to the newer states their place has been filled by Roman Catholic emigrants, French Canadians, Irish and Italians. The godly Bostonians who protested against the Quebec Act of 1774 (page 44) would doubtless have been horrified if they could have foreseen that in the twentieth century the population of their city would be more than half Roman Catholic.

With its agreeable summer climate and picturesque lakes, valleys and seaside resorts New England has now become a popular holiday playground. Saratoga, where Burgoyne surrendered in 1777, has medicinal springs which have made it the Harrogate of the United States.

The North-east. (ii) The Old 'Middle States'

	Area sq. m.	Population
— New York	47,620	14,830,192
— New Jersey	7,525	4,835,329
— Pennsylvania	44,985	10,498,012
— Delaware	1,960	318,085
— Maryland	9,860	2,343,001
1863 West Virginia	24,645	2,005,552
	<hr/> 136,595	<hr/> 34,830,171

It will be noticed that the line dividing this region from the 'Old South' is not the Mason-Dixon line which was once the frontier between free and slave states, but the 'civil war line' between the states which seceded and those which supported the Union. The drawback of this division is that it brings into the group two states with a considerable negro population, Maryland with 17 per cent negroes and West Virginia with 7 per cent, but in other respects it makes the better line of division. The great port of Baltimore, Maryland, with its industrial and commercial activities and its population approaching a million, ranks with New York and Philadelphia rather than with any of the small cities of the Old South. This region contains a twentieth of the area and a quarter of the population of the United States. The wealth of its citizens, measured by income-tax returns, is nearly half that of the whole Union. Its great cities contain a very high percentage of recent immigrants. In 1920 over half the population were either foreign-born or had at least one foreign-born parent, but with the restriction of immigration the percentage is steadily falling.

New York State went ahead of Virginia in population in the 1820 census and ever since has had the largest population of any state of the Union. More than half of it is in New York City which ranks with London as one of the two greatest cities and seaports in the world. It is also, of course, the headquarters of

American finance and big business. The bulk of the rest of the population lives in a series of cities along the line of the Erie Canal and railway, terminating in Buffalo, close to Niagara, which has a population of over half a million. Elsewhere the state is agricultural and quite thinly populated.

Pennsylvania, the second state of the Union in population, contains not only Philadelphia, which ranks fourth among American cities, but at the other end of the state the great coalfield round Pittsburgh which is the principal centre of the American steel industry. It was also the first state to develop petroleum production on a large scale, though now surpassed in this respect by several other states.

West Virginia is, like western Pennsylvania, a coal and iron and petroleum district. It never had much in common with old Virginia, from which it separated itself at the time of the Civil War. Its natural contacts are with western Pennsylvania rather than with Virginia from which it is cut off by the Appalachian mountains.

In strong contrast with these industrial and commercial states is the little coastland strip of Delaware which excels in the more agreeable arts of producing apples and strawberries.

South. (i) The South Atlantic States

	Area sq. m.	Population 1950	Negroes
— Virginia	40,125	3,318,680	661,449
— N. Carolina	48,580	4,081,929	981,298
— S. Carolina	30,170	2,117,027	814,164
— Georgia	58,980	3,444,578	1,084,927
1845 Florida	54,240	2,771,305	514,193
	<hr/> 232,095	<hr/> 15,733,519	<hr/> 4,056,031

When we cross the Potomac into Virginia and proceed southwards we enter an altogether different society. In these five states there are only four towns with over 100,000 inhabitants, the two largest being Richmond, Virginia, and Atlanta, Georgia, each with about a quarter of a million. The whole population is only a little more than that of the single state of New York, but in its density of population these states, though in strong contrast with the north-east, are not far from the average of the Union as a whole. But to a larger extent than in any other region of the

Union the population is native-born, i.e. it has been almost untouched by the great non-British immigration of the period since the Civil War. More than a quarter of the population is negro. In none of these states do the negroes exceed fifty per cent, though they did so in both South Carolina and Georgia sixty years ago. In fact the negro percentage is slowly falling, a result partly due to negro migration to the great cities of the north where the negroes replace the low-class Europeans excluded by the modern restrictions on immigration.

Up to 1820 Virginia had the largest population of any American state, but it is now a long way down the list, and though all American tobacco is generally described as 'Virginian' it produces less tobacco than North Carolina. However, it leads the states in the production of that other luxury brought to England by Elizabethan sailors, the potato. North Carolina is the most industrial of this group of states, the leading industries being cotton textiles and tobacco goods. South Carolina and Georgia are cotton states, as of yore. Charleston, in spite of the conspicuous part it played in the middle period of American history, is still a comparatively small city with only about 70,000 inhabitants. A peculiarity of South Carolina is that it has never legalized divorce on any terms. Every state makes its own divorce laws and they range from South Carolina, where it is entirely forbidden, to Nevada, where it can be had practically for the asking. South Carolinians who want divorce have to reside in some other state for whatever period of time is required to secure the benefit of its laws.

All these four states are rightly described as the *Old South*, for theirs is an old-fashioned society, less changed in the last fifty years than that of any other part of the Union, regarding Yankee hustle with an aloofness not entirely free from contempt, as in the days of Calhoun. Though the planters no longer own slaves, the old threefold division of society persists—planters and other well-to-do whites, negroes, and what the negroes used to call 'poor white trash'. Up in the Appalachian mountains are white communities living in deplorable poverty.

Florida, a very flat peninsula with much marshland stretching to within two degrees of the tropic of Cancer, is quite unlike the other states of this group, its leading products being oranges and grapefruit and even strictly tropical fruits such as the banana. Its population has increased markedly in the present century owing to the development of 'riviera' winter resorts along its coast,—

Miami, Palm Beach and others. The immense stretch of sand at Daytona has become a famous motoring speedway.

South. (ii) Cis-Mississippi States

		Area sq. m.	Population 1950	Negroes
1792	Kentucky	40,000	2,944,806	214,031
1796	Tennessee	41,750	3,291,713	508,736
1819	Alabama	51,540	3,061,743	983,290
1817	Mississippi	46,340	2,178,914	1,074,578
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		179,630	11,447,176	2,780,635
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

This region is really two small regions taken together, but both are alike in that, taken as a whole, their populations suffer more from poverty than the people in any other region of the Union. This poverty is largely due to unintelligent use of the natural resources of the soil, destruction of forests and repetition of the same crops year after year. These states have been the scene of the first great Federal experiment in flood and erosion control, the Tennessee Valley Authority, briefly described in the previous chapter. The first three states each contain a city of a quarter of a million inhabitants, Louisville, Memphis and Birmingham, but Mississippi has no town with as many as 50,000 inhabitants.

Kentucky and Tennessee both produce big crops of what Americans call corn and we call maize, which provides, with pork, the staple diet. Kentucky has a big tobacco crop, and is a leading state in the production of asphalt from petroleum. In the early years of the present century it was notorious for the physical violence with which it pursued its political controversies. Alabama and Mississippi are the two chief cotton states. Alabama also has important coal and iron industries round Birmingham, but Mississippi is almost entirely given up to cotton production and is the only state of the Union in which the negroes constitute practically half the population. In the cotton plantation districts of these two states the negroes form about three-quarters of the population. Mississippi state suffers seriously at times from the flooding of the great river from which it takes its name.

The poverty of the cotton-producing states seems strange when one considers that cotton *un-manufactured* is still the largest of all American exports, measured in dollars—the next in order being petroleum and machinery.

South. (iii) Trans-Mississippi States

		Area sq. m.	Population 1950	Negroes
1836	Arkansas	53,045	1,909,511	482,578
1812	Louisiana	45,420	2,683,516	849,303
1845	Texas	262,290	7,771,194	924,391
1907	Oklahoma	69,830	2,233,351	168,849
		<hr/> 430,585 <hr/>	<hr/> 14,597,572 <hr/>	<hr/> 2,425,121 <hr/>

This, again, is two small regions taken together, Arkansas pairing with Louisiana and Oklahoma with Texas.

Louisiana contains New Orleans, the greatest city of the South, with nearly half a million inhabitants, but its importance has relatively declined as rail transport has gone ahead of river transport. More export goods now go by rail to Chicago than by rail or river to New Orleans. French and Spanish families, called Creoles,* form an element in its population and the French language predominates in certain parts of the city. Louisiana is the largest producer of rice and the only state that produces cane sugar in the Union. It is backward in education and has more persons both white and negro that can neither read nor write than any other state of the Union. Arkansas, pronounced Arkansaw with accents on the first and last syllables, comes second in the production of rice, and has large unspoiled forests of hardwood timber. Some years ago its legislature, finding that nearly all the other states had popular nicknames, christened it 'the wonder state' on account of its wonderful natural resources; but these resources have not been exploited and its population is very poor. There are no large towns.

Texas is large enough to make four average states. It has several towns of over 100,000 inhabitants and a busy port at Galveston. It is a leading state for the production of petroleum and also excels in livestock of all kinds. It has had much more immigration in the last fifty years than any other southern state and half of this, as might be expected, comes from Mexico. Oklahoma comes second to Texas in the production of petroleum. Here, too, we enter the great prairie wheatfield of the 'middle west' and Oklahoma comes fourth among the states in the production of wheat. It has a larger American Indian population

* This word is used in other parts of the world to mean people of mixed white and negro blood. All such are included in the American census under 'negroes'.

than any other state, 92,000, Arizona coming next with 43,000. The reason for this is that Oklahoma was for a long time the largest of the Indian Reserves, white men being forbidden to settle there. This prohibition was broken down, as regards half the state, in 1889, and on the appointed day 20,000 white settlers rushed in to secure land. The rest of the Reserve was opened to white settlement some years later. It is thus, as the date shows, one of the youngest of the states, but it has already passed in population many that were admitted to statehood much earlier.

Middle West. (i) Cis-Mississippi States

		Area sq. m.	Population
1803	Ohio	40,760	7,946,627
1816	Indiana	35,910	3,934,224
1818	Illinois	56,000	8,712,176
1837	Michigan	57,430	6,371,766
1848	Wisconsin	54,450	3,434,575
		<hr/> 244,550 <hr/>	<hr/> 30,399,368 <hr/>

Here, having returned to the North, we re-enter the area of comparatively dense population. This region, which was the subject of the famous Territorial Ordinance of 1787, contains one-thirteenth of the area of the Union and one-fifth of its population. In fact this region and the two small north-eastern regions contain together almost exactly half the population of the Union though only fifteen per cent of its area. Illinois and Ohio rank next after New York, Pennsylvania and California in population. In all these states comparatively recent immigrants form a large part of the population, more than half the population having been in 1930 either foreign-born or the offspring of a foreign-born parent, Germans being the largest single group. A feature of the population of Ohio, which has several big cities, and of Chicago, which contains half the population of Illinois, is the increasing number of negroes who have been attracted from the South by the demand for unskilled labour. Each of these two states has over 300,000 negroes.

Ohio comes third among the states in the value of its manufactures, the chief products being machinery, rubber goods and pottery. Cleveland, on Lake Erie, has over a million inhabitant

and there are seven other towns with more than 100,000. It was in Cleveland that the millionaire Rockefeller built up the Standard Oil Trust, controlling the sale of petroleum. Indiana, which comes between Ohio and Illinois, is less conspicuous in industry though it is making rapid progress. It is a leading state for the production of vegetables. Illinois, apart from Chicago, is a mainly agricultural state, though it has a good coal-field, where much of the iron from the southern shore of Lake Superior is worked up. Chicago, the second city of America, and one of the half-dozen largest aggregations of population in the world, owes its pre-eminence primarily to the fact that it is the chief railway centre of the Union. Its greatest single industry is the conversion of livestock into food.

Michigan excels in the production of beans and sugar beet, and it divides with Minnesota the great iron and copper deposits on the southern shore of Lake Superior, but it is chiefly famed for its motor industries, centring round Detroit. More than half the motor vehicles of the Union are produced here. Wisconsin is outside the range of the heavy industries, but it too has a most flourishing industry, based on its own raw material; for it is a land of dairy farms and its industry produces two-thirds of the country's cheese. Milwaukee, the centre of the cheese industry, has a population of more than half a million, largely German in origin.

This group of states enjoys more than any other region a satisfactory balance between progressive agriculture and progressive industry, between town and country life.

Middle West. (ii) Trans-Mississippi States

		Area sq. m.	Population 1950
1858	Minnesota	79,205	2,982,483
1846	Iowa	55,475	2,621,073
1821	Missouri	68,735	3,954,653
1889	North Dakota	70,195	619,636
1889	South Dakota	76,850	652,740
1867	Nebraska	76,840	1,325,510
1861	Kansas	81,700	1,905,229
		<hr/> 509,000	<hr/> 14,061,324

These are the prairie states and the chief wheat-producing area of the Union. The great wheat belt runs from north to south

through Minnesota, the Dakotas and Nebraska to Kansas. In Iowa and Missouri, as in all agricultural areas further east, maize is a bigger crop than wheat. These two states produce immense numbers of pigs. Iowa is apparently the richest agricultural land of the Union, whether measured in the incomes of the farmers or the value of the produce per acre; but all agriculturists are poor compared with those who live by industry. The agricultural population of the Middle West has increased little if at all in the present century. The people are mostly old-fashioned folk with few interests outside their occupations and incomes. Much of the population of Minnesota and North Dakota is of Swedish origin—German also in the latter to judge by the name of its capital, Bismarck. They have the same long and intensely cold winter as the near-by Canadian prairie provinces.

In all this region there are only five really large cities. In Minnesota, on the upper Mississippi, are the twin cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul (counting them as one); the latter is the home of the novelist Sinclair Lewis who has described it in *Babbitt* and other novels. Further down the river is St. Louis in Missouri. Omaha (Nebraska) and Kansas City are both on the tributary Missouri. Duluth (Minnesota) is the headquarters of the copper and iron industry which runs along the southern shore of Lake Superior into the neighbouring state of Michigan. Its presence in this region illustrates the drawback of drawing the regional boundaries along the frontiers of the states, for this corner of Minnesota is really the western extremity of the industrial region described in the previous section.

Minnesota has an increasing population on account of the ironfield, and so has Missouri, also a comparatively industrial state with a large boot and shoe industry.

Perhaps it is also worth mentioning that North Dakota ranks with Mississippi as one of the two most 'townless' states in the Union, though in another respect they are at opposite poles, Mississippi having the highest percentage of negroes and North Dakota the lowest ('05 per cent or one in two thousand).

The rainfall of this region is low, and reckless agricultural methods, aiming at quick profits without thought of preserving the quality of the soil, have reduced large areas to deserts, such as the notorious 'dust bowl' in the Dakotas.

West. (i) The Mountain States

		Area sq. m.	Population
1889	Montana	145,310	591,024
1890	Idaho	84,290	588,637
1890	Wyoming	97,575	290,529
1864	Nevada	109,740	160,083
1896	Utah	82,190	638,862
1876	Colorado	103,645	1,325,089
1912	Arizona	112,920	749,587
1912	New Mexico	112,460	661,187
		<hr/> 848,130 <hr/>	<hr/> 5,004,998 <hr/>

These figures present a picture which is the converse of that presented by the figures of the north-eastern regions. The New York-Pennsylvania group of states, for example, contains one-twentieth of the area of the Union and a quarter of its population. These states contain more than a quarter of the area and less than a thirtieth of its population. Their average size is larger than Great Britain but their average population, less than half a million, is comparable with that of a minor English county. These populations may increase but they will never be large, for all these states consist largely of almost uninhabitable mountains and deserts. The chief occupation is mining; there are coal-fields, and various deposits of gold, silver and other metals, and the population is mostly settled on or near the various transcontinental railways. Colorado, the most important of these states, was one of the world's chief sources of silver in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, though these mines are now exhausted.

Something was said about several of these states on an earlier page (page 201) and need not be repeated. Utah is an interesting state on account of the Mormons, whose adventures have already been described. To-day they constitute half the population and their influence is apparent in two matters of importance. Utah has the highest birth-rate of any state in the Union, and is the only one of these mining states in which the numbers of males and females are equally balanced, the tendency of polygamy (though abolished nearly fifty years ago) to secure an excess of women still counterbalancing the tendency of rough mining communities to attract an excess of men. Utah makes an important contribution

to the Union's output of copper and lead. New Mexico is interesting for its contact with old Spanish colonial days. Though it is, with its twin Arizona, one of the two newest states of the Union, it has as its capital the oldest city in the Union, Santa Fe having been founded by the Spaniards in the same year (1609) as the first permanent settlement in Virginia and eleven years before the arrival of the *Mayflower*. Nevada is a curiosity on account of the smallness of its population, yet it is the oldest of these states. It was admitted to statehood somewhat fraudulently in 1864 because the Republican party badly needed two more votes in the Senate—much as Queen Elizabeth and James I used to create rotten boroughs in Cornwall to increase the royalist vote in the House of Commons.

It is worth remembering that each of these obscure states sends two senators to the Senate and that New York State and Pennsylvania, each with more than double the population of all these states taken together, also send only two. The House of Representatives represents, with greater numerical accuracy than our House of Commons, the population of the Union irrespective of its state divisions; the Senate represents the forty-eight states as equal units.

West. (ii) The Pacific States

		Area sq. m.	Population
1850	California	155,980	10,586,223
1859	Oregon	94,560	1,521,341
1889	Washington	66,880	2,378,963
		<hr/> 817,420	<hr/> 14,486,527

California has been ever since its foundation one of the most conspicuous of the states. Its origin is bound up with the first and most spectacular of the nineteenth-century gold rushes, in 1849. It is still the leading state in gold production but the importance of this industry has relatively declined and the annual gold product is now less valuable than the petroleum in which California ranks about equal first with Texas and Oklahoma. But the true gold of California, it has been said, is the golden orange. The growing and canning of fruit is a leading industry. Oranges come easily first among the fruits, but there are many others and children all over the world have enjoyed, and experienced the

salutary results of, California Syrup of Figs. The climate is as nearly perfect as can be found in the world, and it has attracted the world's greatest film industry to Hollywood, a suburb of Los Angeles, the largest city of the Pacific coast, with a population of over two millions, double that of San Francisco which was the leading city in the nineteenth century. Drake anchored off the Pacific coast near San Francisco on his famous voyage round the world, but the entrance to its great harbour was only discovered by the Spaniards in 1769, when Boston was quarrelling with Britain about Townshend's tea duties. One of the leading industries of San Francisco is printing and publishing. The population of the state has more than doubled in the last twenty-five years.

Oregon is a mainly agricultural state, wheat being the principal crop, but it has a busy port at Portland. Washington, though starting later than Oregon, has rapidly gone ahead of it. No state of the Union has doubled its population so many times in the last sixty years. It is the leading state of the Union in the lumber (timber) industry and its port and manufacturing centre, Seattle, the youngest of the larger cities of America, is well on the way to a population of half a million.

These three Pacific states have an outlook of their own based upon the simple fact that they look out upon the Pacific. The Pacific Ocean is very wide but it can be crossed as easily as the Atlantic, and on the other side of it are the teeming and overcrowded millions of China and Japan. Just as America has been colonized from east to west by Europeans crossing the Atlantic so it might have been—and might in future be, for it is by no means full—colonized from west to east by Asiatics crossing the Pacific. The Chinese began to come as soon as the goldfields were opened. There were 25,000 in 1852 and in the next forty years they rose in numbers to 100,000. At first these industrious labourers were welcomed, especially as they bore most of the heavy labour of building the western section of the first trans-continental railway; but alarm soon arose. They undercut the white man's wages; the dangers of inter-marriage and of interbreeding without marriage were realized. The Far West foresaw the prospect of an insoluble racial problem like the negro problem of the South. Consequently Chinese immigration was forbidden in 1882 and since then the numbers of the Chinese have declined.

The Japanese began to come after the Chinese had been stopped and their competition with the white worker was much

more aggressive and alarming. Their numbers reached 100,000 by 1920, and their entry was finally forbidden, after the trial of various half measures, in 1924.

In protecting herself against Asiatic immigration the United States follows the same policy as the British Dominions, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. They are all 'in the same boat', and for mutual protection these Dominions will in future look for leadership to the United States quite as much as to Great Britain.

We have now covered the whole map of the United States with one small but important exception. The capital city, Washington, is not included in the territory of any state but stands apart, in an area of sixty square miles called the District of Columbia, on the north bank of the Potomac, between Maryland and Virginia. Originally there were also twenty square miles on the south bank of the river, but these were in 1846 returned to Virginia because the capital had not made and seemed unlikely ever to make any use of them. The purpose of these arrangements was, of course, to make the Federal capital independent of the control of any one of the mutually jealous states. Some account of the early history of the city has been given on page 92.

The arrangements for the government of the District of Columbia, in other words the city of Washington, are peculiar. Originally it was governed by a mayor appointed annually by the president of the Union and a council elected by the people, but in 1812 the choice of the mayor was transferred to the council and in 1820 to direct popular election. This system produced poor results and for half a century the conditions of life in the capital of the Union were at once a scandal and a joke. At last, in 1874, self-government was abolished and the control of all the affairs of the District of Columbia entrusted to three commissioners appointed by the president. The citizens of Washington, a city with about 800,000 inhabitants, are unrepresented in Congress and have no share in the election of the president of the United States. This must seem very strange to us; it is as if the city of Westminster was unrepresented in the House of Commons and, for its municipal affairs, was entirely at the disposal of three commissioners appointed by the prime minister. However, the people of Washington are not dissatisfied with the arrangement. Perhaps they have ways of their own of getting what they want from both president and Congress. Anyhow a writer of authority,

Edgar Jadwin, Chief Engineer of the United States army, says that 'the government of the District has in recent years been uniformly excellent', and this is more than can be said for the government of some of the states, where unfettered democracy prevails.

APPENDIX II

DOCUMENTS

(I)

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, July 4, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA*

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for

* The capitals, punctuation, paragraphing, have been modernized.

their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former system of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for

redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

(2)

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA 1798*[Preamble]*

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

[Legislative Department]

SECT. 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

SECT. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New

Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECT. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECT. 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECT. 5. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner, and under such penalties, as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECT. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECT. 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the

House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and, before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECT. 8. The Congress shall have power,—

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;—and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECT. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No time of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECT. 10. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

[*The Executive Department*]

SECT. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the

term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:—

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of Electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an Elector.

[The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.] (*Repealed by Amendment XII.*)

Congress may determine the time of choosing the Electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECT. 2. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECT. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and

expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECT. 4. The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

[The Judicial Department]

SECT. 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECT. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed

within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECT. 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

[Relation of the States to the Federal Government]

SECT. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECT. 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

SECT. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECT. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

[How the Constitution May be Amended]

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

[Public Debts; Constitution, the Law of the Land; Oath of Office]

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution: but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

[How the Constitution Shall be Ratified and Set Up]

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In Witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

[Signed by]

GO: WASHINGTON,
*President. and Deputy from Virginia,
and by thirty-nine delegates.*

* * *

AMENDMENTS

ARTICLE I (1791)

[Freedom of Speech and Religion, and to Assemble]

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II (1791)

[The Right to Bear Arms]

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III (1791)

[Quartering of Troops]

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV (1791)

[Sacredness of the Home Secured]

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V (1791)

[Right of Trial by Jury]

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life and limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI (1791)

[Criminal Cases and the Rights of the Accused]

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII (1791)

[The Jury in Suits at Common Law]

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved,

and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII (1791)

[Bail, Fines, and Punishments]

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX (1791)

[Rights Retained by the People]

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X (1791)

[Rights Reserved to States]

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI (1798)

[Limitation of Federal Court's Power]

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII (1804)

[Revision of Electoral Law]

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit

sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted;—the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII (1865)

[Slavery Prohibited]

SECT. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECT. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV (1868)

[Definition of Citizenship]

SECT. 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

[Apportionment of Representatives]

SECT. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

[Disabilities of Certain Secessionists]

SECT. 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken the oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

[The Union and Confederate Debts]

SECT. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of

pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States, nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECT. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV (1870)

[Right of Suffrage]

SECT. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude.

SECT. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI (1913)

[Income Tax]

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII (1913)

[Direct Election of Senators]

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The Electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be construed as to effect the election

or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII (1919)

[Prohibition]

SECT. 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territories subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

SECT. 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIX (1920)

[Woman Suffrage]

SECT. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

SECT. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XX (1933)

SECT. 1. The terms of President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January, of the years in which such term would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

SECT. 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3rd day of January unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECT. 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice-President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice-President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the

manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

SECT. 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

SECT. 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article (i.e. 15th October, 1933).

SECT. 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

ARTICLE XXI (1933)

[Article XVIII repealed]

SECT. 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

SECT. 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

SECT. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by Congress.*

* Proclaimed as ratified on 5th December 1933.

(3)

PRESIDENT WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS 1918

The points originally appeared as a statement of American war aims in an address delivered to a Joint Session of both Houses of Congress on January 8th, 1918, and ran as follows:—

1. Open covenants openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in public view.

2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

3. The removal as far as possible of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

5. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

6. The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing, and more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded to Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

7. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated

and restored without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations.

8. All French territory should be freed, and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted.

9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

11. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated, occupied territories restored, Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea, and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality.

12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities that are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations, under international guarantees.

13. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence should be guaranteed by international covenant.

14. A general association of nations should be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

Three subsequent speeches contained similar but less detailed statements, all alike accepted by the Allies and by Germany as a basis for the future peace settlement in the correspondence that preceded the armistice. These other sets of points can be found in the article of The Fourteen Points in the 1927 edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

When the European Allies found themselves invited, at the end of October 1918, to accept Wilson's Points as a basis for the future peace settlement they sought from Colonel House, Wilson's

representative in Paris, an interpretation of the more obscure passages. Colonel House's commentary on the Points will be found in *The Private Papers of Colonel House*. The general effect was to reduce the more alarming 'Points' to harmlessness. For example Point 3 might seem to mean the establishment of universal free trade. According to Colonel House it was not intended to forbid any tariffs or port restrictions so long as they were applied against all foreign countries alike. In Point 4, dealing with disarmament, Colonel House interpreted the phrase 'domestic safety' to mean self-defence. Point 5, dealing with colonial claims, did not mean (as the Germans very naturally supposed) that they were to have a fair share—whatever that might be—of colonial territory, but only that whatever nation received these colonies was to be responsible for them to the League of Nations. Point 2 Lloyd George insisted on excluding, whatever interpretation Colonel House might place upon it. He declared roundly that Great Britain would not accept a formula which seemed to deny her right to use her sea power for the purpose of blockade in time of war. Point 1 did not mean that diplomatic negotiations should henceforth be conducted in public (which would be absurd, though it is what the Point seems to say) but simply that when negotiations had resulted in treaties, such treaties should be published.

(4)

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER 1941

The President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

FIRST, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

SECOND, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

THIRD, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

FOURTH, they will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

FIFTH, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all, improved labour standards, economic advancement, and social security.

SIXTH, after the final destruction of Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

SEVENTH, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

EIGHTH, they believe all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and

permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

APPENDIX III

THE MURDER OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN

IN A book entitled *Why was Lincoln murdered?* (Faber & Faber 1937), Otto Eisenschiml seems to have established the following facts:—

(i) Lincoln's box at the theatre on the fatal night was guarded by a notoriously corrupt policeman, appointed to the job of keeping guard over the President only a few days before. By negligence or on purpose he let the murderer Booth into the box. No enquiry was afterwards made into his conduct.

(ii) Stanton, Secretary of State for War, and responsible for the President's guard, refused to allow the President the officer he asked for on the ground that the officer in question was required elsewhere. (This fact rests on rather dubious authority.)

(iii) Stanton persuaded Grant not to go to the theatre as Lincoln's guest that evening.

(iv) The measures taken for the capture of Booth after the murder were so inefficient that he would undoubtedly have escaped into Southern territory if he had not lamed himself when leaping from the box on to the stage. Guards were set on every road except that which he was most likely to take.

(v) When Booth's whereabouts were located Stanton sent a specially selected party 'to arrest him'. He was shot, though he could easily have been taken alive.

(vi) Booth's diary was captured and brought to the War Office, where a number of pages were removed from it before it was produced as evidence at the trial of Booth's alleged associates.

(vii) About twenty persons came under suspicion as associated with Booth before or after the murder. Of these eight were selected for exceptionally rigorous imprisonment pending trial on a capital charge. Four were executed and the other four sentenced to life imprisonment, though two seem to have been almost certainly innocent. It is suggested that they were treated thus because Stanton believed that they knew facts which he did not wish to be known to the public.

(viii) It was alleged that there were also assassination plots against Grant, Vice-President Johnson, and Stanton himself, but the evidence for these is of the flimsiest character. The only real plots were against Lincoln and Seward, who was wounded in his own house by an associate of Booth on the same night as the

murder. Lincoln and Seward were the two chief promoters of a generous policy towards the Southern States, whereas Stanton favoured the policy of revenge which was afterwards pursued.

(ix) The prosecution at the trial of Booth's associates tried to prove that the murder plot was the work of Jefferson Davis, but absolutely no evidence in favour of such a theory exists and much evidence against it.

(x) Two years later, when Andrew Johnson was impeached, attempts were made to show that he was a party to the plot, from an insane ambition to secure the presidency. For this, again, there is absolutely no evidence.

(xi) Booth's plot was a personal enterprise of his own and his associates were few and insignificant. His motives are unknown, though presumably they included a desire to avenge the defeat of the South. Booth was an actor and perhaps aspired to the part of a tragic 'hero' in a melodrama of real life. But, taking all the facts into account, it is *possible* that Stanton was aware of his intentions and took steps to ensure their success. It is *possible* that contact had been established before the murder between Stanton and Booth. In any case Stanton's character and career invite unfavourable suspicions.

The book *Why was Lincoln murdered?* is an enthralling detective story of real life, and it summarizes the results of a voluminous literature that has dealt with the Lincoln murder mystery. The standard historians ignore the subject and it may be that there is really no mystery to be solved. In any case it is a sound principle of English and of American law that a man should be regarded as innocent until he is proved guilty.

APPENDIX IV

PRESIDENTS OF U.S.A.

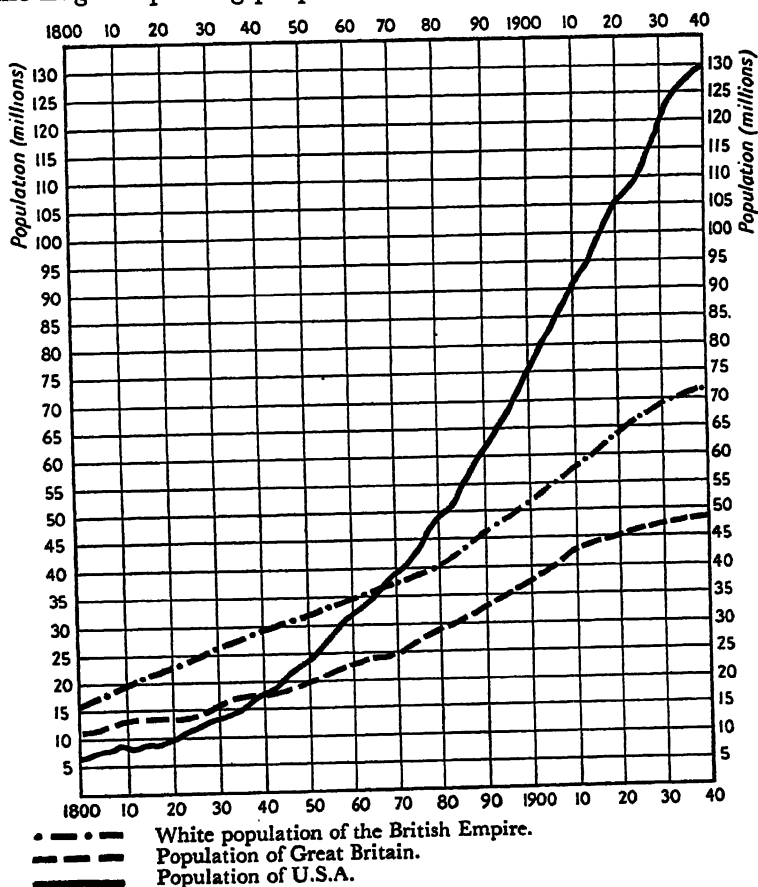
THE dates are dates of taking office, election being in the previous year. When a second name is given, it is that of a Vice-President, succeeding the President on his death.

1789. Washington	1877. Hayes
1793. Washington	1881. Garfield—Arthur
1797. Adams	1885. Cleveland
1801. Jefferson	1889. Harrison
1805. Jefferson	1893. Cleveland
1809. Madison	1897. McKinley
1813. Madison	1901. McKinley—Roosevelt
1817. Monroe	1905. Roosevelt
1821. Monroe	1909. Taft
1825. Quincy Adams	1913. Wilson
1829. Jackson	1917. Wilson
1833. Jackson	1921. Harding—Coolidge
1837. Van Buren	1925. Coolidge
1841. Harrison—Tyler	1929. Hoover
1845. Polk	1933. Roosevelt
1849. Taylor—Fillmore	1937. Roosevelt
1853. Pierce	1941. Roosevelt
1857. Buchanan	1945. Roosevelt—Truman
1861. Lincoln	1949. Truman
1865. Lincoln—Johnson	1953. Eisenhower
1869. Grant	1957. Eisenhower
1873. Grant	1961. Kennedy

APPENDIX V

GROWTH OF POPULATION IN U.S.A., BRITISH EMPIRE AND GREAT BRITAIN

FIGURES of the U.S.A. censuses 1790 to 1940 will be found on page 179. The same are here presented graphically, in comparison with the figures for Great Britain (without Ireland, and the *white* population of the British Empire). The comparison is not quite a fair one for the U.S.A. population includes the non-White elements, mostly negroes. To get the white population of U.S.A. subtract over one million from the 1790 figure, twelve millions from the 1940 figure and proportionate figures in between. The chart shows that since 1870 an increasing preponderance of the English-speaking peoples have been citizens of U.S.A.



APPENDIX VI

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The Oxford History of U.S.A., by S. E. Morison (Oxford).
A Short History of the American People, by R. G. Caldwell (Putnam).
History of the American People, by J. T. Adams (Routledge).
A New American History, by W. E. Woodward (Faber).

These are all excellent general histories, each fully three times as long as my own book. Perhaps the best is Morison's, which however begins after the establishment of independence and ends in 1917. Adams's book is profusely illustrated and covers the whole history down to 1932. All these books were published later than 1925. Among shorter histories of good quality are

The Epic of America, by J. T. Adams (Routledge).
History of the United States, by C. Chesterton (Dent, Everyman's Library).
The United States of America, 1765-1865, by E. Channing (Cambridge).
A History of the United States for Schools, by A. C. McLaughlin and C. H. van Tyne (Appleton).

The last-named is an American school textbook. It is a very readable though somewhat expurgated book; in other words, it passes very lightly over the less admirable episodes of American history.

The American Presidents, by H. Agar (Eyre & Spottiswoode).
Pursuit of Happiness, by H. Agar (Eyre & Spottiswoode).
The American Heresy, by C. Hollis (Shead & Ward).

These are historical essays rather than formal history. The first is strongly to be recommended and goes much deeper than its title might suggest. The second is primarily a history of the Democratic party. The third is a lively specimen of the 'opposition' view of American history. The author holds that it would have been much better if the Southern States had been allowed to secede in 1861. The book consists of essays on Jefferson, Calhoun, Lincoln and Wilson.

Democracy in America, by A. de Tocqueville (Longmans).
The American Commonwealth, by James Bryce (Macmillan).

American Social History recorded in the writings of British Travellers, ed. A. Nevins (Allen and Unwin).

The first two are the classics in the exposition of American society and government, the first in the 1830's, the second at the end of the nineteenth century. The third is an extremely full and interesting collection from thirty or forty writers, with good introductory essays.

America Comes of Age, by André Siegfried (Cape).

Only Yesterday, by F. L. Allen (Penguin).

U.S.A.: An Outline of the Country, its Peoples and Institutions, by D. W. Brogan (Oxford).

America's Foreign Policy, by A. Nevins (Oxford).

The American Political Scene, by F. Darvall (Nelson).

These five books between them cover the period since 1919. The first is a survey by a shrewd French observer in 1927. The second is a lively record of the 1920-30 decade. The last three are short handbooks produced since 1939. Darvall's book contains a simplified but adequate account of the New Deal.

Regional books, descriptive and historical, are beyond our scope here, but the development of Southern California has been so sensational that I recommend:

Southern California Country, by Percy McWilliams (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, N.Y.).

Biographies are well-nigh innumerable. The following suggestions cover some of the outstanding figures:

Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin (Dent, Everyman's Library).

Washington, by M. de la Bédoyère (Harrap).

Hamilton, by F. S. Oliver (Macmillan).

Jefferson, by J. T. Morse (Putnam).

Lincoln, by Lord Charnwood (Constable).

Abraham Lincoln, by Benjamin P. Thomas (Eyre and Spottiswoode).

Lincoln, the Prairie Years, by Carl Sandburg (Cape), is an immensely detailed study of Lincoln's life before he became president.

A fascinating book.

Autobiography of Theodore Roosevelt (Putnam).

Stonewall Jackson, by Lieut.-Col. B. G. Henderson (Longmans).

Brigham Young, by M. R. Werner (Cape).

Historical novels are a large subject of which we can only touch the fringe. It has been truly said that historical novels are of two kinds, those which, originally descriptions of a contemporary society, have become historical by lapse of time, and those which are attempts to reconstruct the past by the use of historical evidence. Among the former may be mentioned

Uncle Tom's Cabin, by Mrs. Beecher Stowe (see page 152).

Huckleberry Finn, *Tom Sawyer*, etc., by Mark Twain.

Luck of Roaring Camp and other stories, by Bret Harte (mining on the western frontier).

The Rise of Silas Lapham, by W. D. Howells (portrait of a self-made millionaire).

Among historical reconstructions:

By Order of the Company and *The Old Dominion*, by Mary Johnston (Virginia in the seventeenth century).

Lewis Rand, by Mary Johnston (the early Republic, Jefferson period).

Richard Carvel, *The Crisis* and *The Crossing*, by Winston Churchill—not the British prime minister. (The first covers the War of Independence, the second early Kentucky and Louisiana, and the third the Civil War.)

The Conqueror, by Gertrude Atherton (Alexander Hamilton).

The Virginian, by Owen Wister (the Cowboy period).

Gone with the Wind, by Margaret Mitchell (Georgia during and after the Civil War).

John Brown's Body, by S. V. Benét, a striking narrative poem of epic dimensions on the Civil War, easy to read and quite fascinating.

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